William Langer

LATE A SENATOR FROM
NORTH DAKOTA

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Memorial Services

HELD IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

William Langer

LATE A SENATOR FROM
NORTH DAKOTA

U.S.

Eighty-sixth Congress
Second Session

1960.

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1960

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

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Biography

WILLIAM LANGER was born on a farm in Everest Township, near Casselton, Case County, N. Dak., September 30, 1886; attended a rural school and later Casselton High School; was graduated from the law department of the University of North Dakota at Grand Forks in 1906 and from Columbia University, New York, N.Y., in 1910; was admitted to the bar in 1911 and began practice in Mandan, N. Dak.; State's attorney of Morton County, N. Dak., 1914–1916; moved to Bismarck, N. Dak., in 1916 and continued the practice of law; attorney general of North Dakota 1916–1920; legal adviser for Council of Defense during the First World War; unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1920; elected Governor in 1932 and served from January 1933 to July 17, 1934, when he was removed by the Supreme Court of North Dakota; again Governor from 1937 to 1939; unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator in 1938 and also for election to the United States Senate as an Independent candidate; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1940; reelected in 1946, 1952, and again in 1958, and served from January 3, 1941, until his death in Washington, D.C., November 8, 1959; interment in St. Leo's Catholic Cemetery, Casselton, N. Dak.

Memorial Services
for
William Langer

Eighty-sixth Congress
Second Session

Proceedings in the Senate

WEDNESDAY, *January 6, 1960.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, with a new year's beginning, as the gavel falls again in this historic Chamber, even before we talk to one another about the Nation's welfare we would turn to Thee, O Thou God of our salvation—Thou who art greater and higher and deeper and more paramount than the sum of all other facts concerning our universe.

Tenderly and with deep sympathy we think in this hour of the dear ones bereaved by the passing of a stalwart Member of this body since the last session, and of an honored Senator standing this very morning in the poignant sadness of farewell as his lovely companion has so tragically, from our finite viewpoint, been taken from his side and his home.

Give them and us to see that what we call death is but the portal to a larger room in the Father's many-mansioned house.

We would with reverence climb the stairs of this altar of prayer our fathers built so long ago. A nation needs to pray for things it has—for things it has not earned—for gifts from men now dead. A nation needs to pray in humility we see that greatness is not measured by industrial grandeur, nor by any other things that man may proudly say were made by mind or hand.

And we so pray to be delivered from the tyranny of things. We pray that no cherished resentment, no camouflaged selfishness, no small loyalties, no ingrained prejudice, may choke and clog the channels of public service. Take Thou the dimness of our souls away. Enlarge our spirits. Stretch out our horizons to meet and match the stupendous dimensions of these epic days.

Shall we repeat together the hallowed petitions of the Lord's Prayer?

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever.

Amen.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, it is my sad duty formally and officially to announce to the Senate the death, during the adjournment of Congress, of my late colleague, the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER, U.S. Senator from North Dakota.

Senator LANGER had a long and distinguished record as a public servant, covering a period of nearly half a century. At the age of 29 he was elected Attorney General of North Dakota. Later he served two terms as Governor of North Dakota, and was a member of the United States Senate for nearly 19 years.

Senator LANGER was a very able and respected member of this body. I know of no public servant who was more devoted to duty or more courageous in fighting for causes which he believed to be right. He was always to be found on the side of the poor man, the underprivileged, or those in trouble. These and many other fine qualities earned for him the respect and admiration of all his associates.

At a later date, when, as I understand, the Senate will set aside a day on which the Members of the Senate may pay their respects to its deceased Members, I shall have some additional remarks to make in the form of a eulogy. At this time I shall only submit a resolution, for present consideration of which I ask unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 203) as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM LANGER, late a Senator from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, do adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from North Dakota?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, pursuant to the resolution previously agreed to, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator LANGER, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 24 minutes p.m.) the Senate, as a further mark of respect to the late Senator LANGER, adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 7, 1960, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *January 11, 1960.*

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from Lydia Langer Irwin, expressing appreciation to the Senate for the floral tribute in memory of the late Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, which was ordered to lie on the table.

THURSDAY, *February 4, 1960.*

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I submit a resolution for which I request immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 268) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the legislative business of the Senate be now suspended in order that memorial addresses may be delivered on the life, character, and public service of Hon. WILLIAM LANGER, late a Senator from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request for the immediate consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Senator LANGER, of North Dakota, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 2 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, under the order previously entered, until Monday, February 8, 1960, at 12 o'clock meridian.

Remarks by Senator Young

Of North Dakota

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I wish to add my tribute to that of innumerable friends of my late colleague and very close personal friend, Senator WILLIAM LANGER. Since his death on November 7 of last year, tributes to BILL LANGER have come from near and far. They have come from rich and poor alike and from persons in every walk of life.

He was honored by all who knew him or knew of him, and by both those who agreed with him and those who disagreed with him.

Senator LANGER was a liberal of the old school. Much of his thinking was influenced by three former great liberals of the U.S. Senate—the late Robert M. La Follette, George M. Norris, and Hiram Johnson, all of whom he greatly admired. His liberal thinking and his natural desire to help the poor and the underprivileged had a great influence on all of his long career as a public servant, which extended over nearly half a century.

BILL LANGER loved people, and they loved him. No one in the history of North Dakota had a more devoted, loyal, and dedicated following. This was due not only to the principles and ideals for which he stood, but also to his warm, captivating personality.

Mr. President, of all the tributes paid to Senator LANGER, one of the nicest and most appropriate came to me in a letter I received recently. One interesting thing about the letter is that it comes, not from North Dakota, as we might expect, but from the State of California.

I wish to read the letter because I think it expresses what the average person really thought of BILL LANGER.

The letter reads as follows:

This is an appreciation of your former colleague, the late Senator LANGER, made by people far from his native State.

Few of us ever voted for Senator LANGER, fewer still ever met him face to face. But we felt that we knew him, knew him well. Our name is legion, sir. More specifically, it is Anderson, O'Brien, Resnicoff; it is MacGregor, Krausmeyer and Malshuski; just plain Smith, exotic Bellefontaine, Gonzales, Bernstein, Lezinsky—all typical American names, as you can see.

We are the people who carried the mail, patrolled the forests, guarded the frontiers; clerks and lawyers and engineers. Laborers, accountants, mechanics, technicians. We are the men and women of yesterday who trod the uneven roads of the Civil Service. Roads paved more often than not with promises alone—until WILLIAM LANGER and his kind granted us status and recognition and the dignity of decent annuities.

This man LANGER. He was rugged and stubborn and solid, sound as the teeming acres of his prairie State. He was a plumed knight in homespun, riding high in the saddle, tilting at windmills of chicanery, duplicity, and double dealing. He was the gadfly of the pompous, the charlatan and the sycophant. In Halls of Congress, where oratory is a manner of speaking and a way of life, he used words like "fake" and "fraud" and "hypocrite."

LANGER. We honor his memory for his plainness of speech, his disdain of persiflage, his unmasking of shams, his scorn of pretense. And for his rare ability to call a spade by its given name.

We honor him for the things he did, perhaps most of all for the things he undid, or left undone. And we of the civil service remember him best because he was the first in Congress to place a ceiling over promises and a floor under their fulfillment.

We know little of his faith, its nature or extent, but we believe it was the strong faith of a strong man. May he dwell forever in the Valhalla of the mighty. And in the minds of the people whom he served.

Thus we honor the memory of Senator LANGER this day, we who are far away, who never knew him, never voted for him. But this thought can we carry in our hearts. Many, many times he voted for us.

By order of Chapter 82, National Association of Retired Civil Employees.

The letter was signed by the Chapter President Owen Rhodes.

Mr. President, I thank these good people of California for their letter. I thank them for expressing my feelings and the

feelings of countless other Americans about our departed friend, BILL LANGER.

Mr. President, during his 19 years in the Senate, BILL LANGER was always the champion of the underdog. No one was too poor or too lowly to receive his sympathetic assistance.

He was a particular friend of Federal employees, and was the author and sponsor of many bills to improve their wages, hours, and working conditions.

Above all, he had the courage to stand alone, if need be, to vote his convictions. I believe that it was this quality of courage that endeared him above all else to those who knew him.

He was a man of truly independent spirit. He was proud of being known as "Wild BILL."

BILL LANGER was born and reared on an average North Dakota farm. He learned early in life of the hardships and trials and tribulations experienced by the early settlers of North Dakota.

At the age of 15 he went to work for a farmer neighbor as a hired hand; and because of his ability to lead other men, he was appointed foreman.

He attended district school 102, and later grade school at Casselton, N. Dak., where his first teacher was Alice Rutledge, a cousin of the sweetheart of Abraham Lincoln, Ann Rutledge.

Upon graduating from Casselton High School, he attended the University of North Dakota, where he graduated from the law school, and went on to Columbia University, in New York, where he graduated with honors in 1910.

Once again, Senator LANGER showed his ability beyond his years, for he passed the bar examination at the early age of 18, and was admitted to practice law on his 21st birthday.

Returning to North Dakota and Morton County, he began his many years of public service by being elected State's attorney. His next public office was as attorney general of North Dakota, in which capacity he served for 4 years.

After serving two terms as Governor of North Dakota, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he was serving his fourth consecutive term at the time of his death.

His achievements in the U.S. Senate were outstanding in many fields of endeavor. It was here that he championed the cause of the people he was closest to—farmers, laborers, Government employees, and all others whom he thought were in need of help. There is hardly a facet of American life that has not been touched by the legislative hand of BILL LANGER.

Senator LANGER was the first to admit that he was a controversial figure, but even those who disagreed with him in his views knew him as a warmhearted, courageous man who would go to almost any length to aid a friend in trouble.

Senator LANGER's final years were not easy. His beloved wife, Lydia, fought a long but losing battle against cancer. During this illness he refused to leave her side, even to engage in a campaign for his election to a fourth term in the U.S. Senate.

Senator LANGER, his wife, Lydia, and their four daughters were a truly devoted and lovable family. We in North Dakota, as well as people throughout the Nation, share the great loss suffered by his family, but take comfort in the knowledge that his dauntless courage and record of accomplishments will be remembered always.

Remarks by Senator Johnson

Of Texas

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, there are some men who have the rare capacity of shaking the earth. Such a man was my close friend, the late WILLIAM LANGER.

BILL LANGER was a rugged man. He was a product of the Great Plains area where sodbusters of strength and of force wrested a living from the hard and unyielding soil.

He was a man of strong convictions. He had clear-cut ideas of what he thought was right and what he thought was wrong and he lived by these convictions to the very end. BILL LANGER had a stormy career. He lived in turbulent times, and he was one of the most controversial figures of those times.

But he was also a man of great warmth and of strong friendships. All of us will miss him very much and our hearts and our prayers are with his loved ones on this day.

And always he will remain a symbol of what can be accomplished by a man of unconquerable spirit battling against great odds.

Remarks by Senator Brunsdale

Of North Dakota

Mr. BRUNSDALE. Mr. President, a newsman in North Dakota commenting on the death of WILLIAM LANGER stated that the Senator's name will be a legend in our State. So much has been said and printed about him personally, and about his political career already that stories of a legendary nature can and will result, I am sure. However, I am going to dwell on aspects of his life and career as I have known them.

His was a most active life. Many have wondered at his physical stamina, which seemed unimpaired even after days of exacting toil. With him an 8-hour day was unheard of. To those of us who knew him when he first was elected attorney general of North Dakota in 1916, he put his life into high gear and there it remained for over 40 years. Entering upon the duties of attorney general of North Dakota in 1917, he attracted attention by attempting to enforce a number of so-called blue laws, for the most part related to the observance of the Sabbath. He was successful to the point the legislature repealed most of them. Enforcing State prohibition, antigambling laws, and the like afforded much publicity and experience—all to his liking. He was already a dynamic, and to some extent a controversial, public official. He was a candidate for public office many times thereafter—always on the Republican ticket.

Already he had also demonstrated some of those traits by which his friends, supporters, colleagues here in the U.S. Senate, yes, and even his political enemies, learned to know him.

He was the champion of the underdog. His advice and offer of help to anyone who came to him for personal or other assistance, regardless of residence, or even of merit at times, was always available.

His only enemies were political. And, for these in dealing with departments of government on their behalf, it often seemed he would do more than they had a right to expect. Many of them became his stanch supporters as a result.

In the 1930's he experienced some trying years. Elected Governor in 1932; he was removed in 1934; tried in the Federal courts and after 2 years was acquitted. These events were beyond the lot and endurance of most people. However, when his future looked the darkest he said he would return to public office again, and he did. In 1936 he was reelected Governor.

To this greatest of deliberative bodies, the U.S. Senate, he was elected in 1940; and his admission here was not without a struggle, an experience that he philosophically referred to in subsequent campaigns as follows:

> I have been tried in the courts of the land and even by the U.S. Senate and have not been found wanting. I ought to be the most eligible candidate of all.

His sense of subtle humor mingled with a bit of seriousness often characterized his speeches; and the audiences enjoyed and applauded them in his numerous campaigns.

He was reelected the fourth time in 1958 with the largest margin of all, winning in every county of the State. But the victory was saddened by the death of his wife, Lydia Cady Langer, in 1959. With her passing he lost the support he so often had leaned on in many years of toil and tribulation. She and a family of four fine daughters had given him the greatest happiness. The daughters married, with families of their own. Although one remained to help and comfort her parents to the end, he felt lonely and troubled, I am sure. The desire and determination to carry on seemed gradually to fade from him.

The bishop of his faith who spoke words of comfort at his funeral dwelt on his daily visits with his priest and comforter the last weeks of his life. He had given up life's struggle, it seemed, and was preparing to meet his Maker. He

passed away in his sleep on November 8, 1959. At this memorial program in his honor we offer our condolences to his daughters, their husbands, and children.

Remarks by Senator Mansfield

Of Montana

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, BILL LANGER was a unique Senator. I do not believe he could be described as a Republican or a Democrat, but I do know that at all times he acted as he thought an American should act.

BILL LANGER has left his imprint on the State of North Dakota. I think a part of it has touched my own State of Montana. And certainly he has left his imprint on the Senate of the United States.

BILL LANGER was an independent in the true meaning of that word. He was not bound by party regularity, he was not bound by party platforms, but he was bound by what he thought in his own conscience was right.

We shall miss BILL LANGER because of the many contributions he made, some of them alone, others with a few for company, but always with reason and with understanding as to why he acted and why he voted as he did.

I know that BILL LANGER had more than his share of troubles in life, but he was able to surmount them and to benefit as a result of them. The loss of his wife Lydia was a blow from which he did not recover, but we know BILL tried to carry on as best he could. During sessions of the Senate he was always in his seat in the front row. He was always looking after the interests of his constituents in North Dakota. With his passing his State has lost a great Senator.

I extend to his daughters and family my deepest condolences, and I pray that his soul may rest in peace.

Remarks by Senator Jackson

Of Washington

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, few men who have served in this body have had such a tempestuous career in public service as our late colleague, WILLIAM LANGER. Throughout his years in public office and in the private practice of law, one word has dominated all of those actions: courage. As a practitioner of the law, he never hesitated to represent people with unpopular causes.

Much has been said of the importance of our Bill of Rights—rights set up to safeguard the freedom and security of the individual. Mr. President, these rights are not self-executing. It is only when a country has courageous members of the bar—men who are willing to uphold the Bill of Rights—that there can be any assurance of freedom. Many countries possessed of strong constitutional guarantees of freedom have lost that freedom because they failed to possess lawyers who were willing to defend people whose liberties were at stake. Senator LANGER was a man and a lawyer who never hesitated to defend and to represent people no matter how unpopular the cause, where he felt it was his duty to see to it that they had their day in court. Our colleague carried this principle into his long years of dedicated public service. He never hesitated to espouse a cause in which he believed, no matter what the odds might be against him. He made it possible for a lot of people to be heard in this great legislative body because he believed they should have that right. To achieve that purpose he often dissented, not for the sake of dissenting, but to make certain that all views were properly represented.

Mr. President, here was a man who came from a prosperous business and farm family in North Dakota, who could have settled down to a rather easy and comfortable life. As many

Members may not know, he graduated No. 1 in his class in high school, University of North Dakota Law School, and Columbia University. After graduation, he received several flattering offers, including that from one of the oldest and finest law firms in the city of New York, but he was determined from the outset to engage in a career of public service. So he returned to North Dakota to start a career that made him one of his State's most beloved—and most controversial—figures.

He was not afraid to take on formidable opponents to protect the public interest. His courage was rewarded with increased public confidence and successively higher public offices. It was this same quality—courage—which carried him through some of the most difficult attacks ever made on a public official. Despite these unrelenting attacks over the years, he more often than not forgave those who attempted to defeat him in his many elections.

He had a deep sense of humility; he was kind, gentle, and thoughtful. He was fortunate in having during his long career the continuous and unfailing support of his wife and family. The unfortunate passing of his wife, Lydia, hastened his own death.

He has left an indelible mark of courageous public service in his great State of North Dakota and the Nation, which will not soon be forgotten.

Mr. President, in his passing I have lost a tried and true friend. To his wonderful family, who stood loyally by his side in good times and in bad, I extend my deepest sympathy.

Remarks by Senator Magnuson

Of Washington

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from the State of Washington. I probably knew BILL LANGER longer than any other Member of the U.S. Senate. As the senior Senator from North Dakota knows, I was born in Fargo. I grew up in Fargo and Moorhead. The name "LANGER" was almost a household word in that area.

I am sure the Senator from North Dakota recalls the days of the fight of the old Nonpartisan League. BILL LANGER, Bill Lemke, and I believe a man called Townley were the three leaders of the movement, which was probably long overdue in North Dakota in those days. That probably typified BILL LANGER'S thinking in his life. It was a movement which its sponsors conscientiously believed was for the benefit of the oppressed. It was a movement which they hoped would dissolve some of the great inequities, economic and otherwise, which lay pretty heavily in those days upon the people of North Dakota and that area.

Later we became colleagues in the U.S. Senate. BILL LANGER was my neighbor in the U.S. Senate for most of the years I have been here, so I knew him well as a neighbor. Many times I would stop in his office and talk with him. Many a time I got much good, sound advice from his long experience.

I do not want to burden the Senate with a number of personal references. I, too, have lost a good friend. If I were to write his epitaph, Mr. President, I would say, "Here lies a man whose great concern was for the oppressed."

Remarks by Senator Saltonstall

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, our late colleague BILL LANGER had some of the very best qualities we think a good American citizen should have. He was a loving husband. He was a father who was close to his fine daughters. He was a good friend to many citizens in North Dakota and to his colleague in the Senate.

I came to know BILL LANGER when I became a Member of the Senate. While we often voted diversely, our pleasant association was never disturbed. BILL LANGER had many qualities which I admired. He led a fine family life. That is an attribute of which we are very proud in the United States. He always spoke, as a public official, as one loyal to the citizen who could not speak for himself, and did not know how to speak for himself. In other words, the average man of this country who wanted something from his Government, who wanted a better life, could know that BILL LANGER would help him get it.

As a public official, he always kept his eye on other public officials and on the many citizens who worked for the U.S. Government, and he endeavored to see that they had a fair break. He was conscientious in his duties. He always called a spade a spade, no matter whether he was in the minority or the majority. We shall miss him here in the Senate because of his friendly relations with each one of us, and his great ability to maintain a point of view which some of us at times failed to see.

Personally, I shall miss him as a friend.

Remarks by Senator Carlson

Of Kansas

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, Senator LANGER was truly western in every way. His life and career were marked with ruggedness typical of his section of the country and the era in which he grew up.

Coming as I do from the plains of Kansas, I am familiar with the trials and tribulations of those who pioneered in that area. It has been stated on many occasions that in Kansas our pioneers really proved the adage that our citizens who remained through those trying years were really a remnant of a "survival of the fittest."

Senator LANGER was one of the kindliest of men, and had a most warm and sympathetic feeling toward his fellow man. This was evidenced many times during his life of public service when he championed the cause of those who were underprivileged. He was truly a farmer's friend.

I well remember my first contact with Senator LANGER was in the twenties when we were going through a period of unrest in the farming sections of the Midwest. At that time a farm movement known as the Nonpartisan League was in its heyday. Senator LANGER traveled over all of the Midwest farming States and debated this issue with Mr. A. C. Townley, who was the president and organizer of the movement.

I can well remember a meeting at Salina, Kans., at which time over 1,500 farmers met in the Memorial Building and listened to this debate. I can assure you it was a spirited one and I can well remember as the Senator and Mr. Townley left the meeting, they both left in the same automobile to attend the next meeting. You can imagine this caused considerable discussion among the farmers who had been so carried away by the heated debate that had taken place just previous to their leaving.

WILLIAM LANGER

It was my privilege to serve with Senator LANGER on the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee was of great interest to Senator LANGER because it gave him an opportunity to be of real assistance to the Federal employees.

In the death of Senator LANGER, the Federal employees of this Nation lost one of their greatest friends. He was ever a supporter of theirs. Senator LANGER never failed to give his personal attention to the problems of the Federal employee, regardless of how minor or trivial the complaint might have been. These individual problems became a personal problem with him.

His passing leaves a real void, not only among his colleagues, but among the millions of people in whom he had taken a very personal interest.

Personally, I enjoyed my association with him very much. We had many heart to heart talks regarding the problems of the Federal employee. I am going to miss his counsel, his sympathetic understanding and interest in matters that came before our committee.

It was a privilege and a great satisfaction to have known Senator and Mrs. LANGER.

Remarks by Senator Hruska

Of Nebraska

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, it is with a feeling of sadness that I rise to pay tribute this morning to our departed colleague and frend, Senator WILLIAM LANGER.

During the first 2 or 3 months of my service in this Chamber, Senator LANGER and I were seatmates as I briefly occupied the chair which had belonged to my predecessor, Senator Hugh Butler. In the course of that early and fortunate association I discovered that Senator LANGER had a special affinity for Nebraska stemming from his close personal friendship with Senator George Norris, of Nebraska. I have no doubt that this fact partially accounted for the friendship he bore me during my years spent with Senator LANGER in the Senate.

Later, with my assignment to the Judiciary Committee on which Senator LANGER served for many years, my contact with him became more frequent. Throughout this pleasant association I watched him remain steadfast to the views which he deemed were in the best interests of the Nation. While in fairness to his memory and complete candor to this body I must say that on certain legislative matters we had fundamental differences of opinion, we nevertheless maintained a mutual understanding and respect for each other's views.

Senator LANGER'S background and experience through decades of tumultuous activity led him to develop a certain philosophy about political life and behavior which gave him inner strength to face the difficult and sometime unpopular issues of the day. He never ducked them. Nor did he ever swerve from the convictions he cherished so greatly. Indeed, he may best be remembered for his willingness to support his convictions despite bitter opposition and under trying condi-

tions. Throughout his long and distinguished political career there never was a day when he did not desire to serve his fellow men and to represent the people of his State and his country as best he could.

Senator LANGER will surely be remembered for his championship of many great social causes. He will long be remembered by the underpriviliged, the workingman, the farmer, and the small businessman as their spokesman and devoted friend.

It is difficult, Mr. President, to record the colorful and courageous life of Senator LANGER in these brief words—or even in these eulogies in which the entire Senate participates. Nor is it possible to do justice to the essential purpose and magnitude of his activity in this legislative body. In truth, he was a remarkable and memorable Senator who leaves us poorer by his passing.

Remarks by Senator Wiley

Of Wisconsin

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, with the passing of WILLIAM LANGER, the Senate of the United States lost one of its unique Senators. As someone said: "We will not see his like again."

With his background as farmer and lawyer and his many years of political experience, and through the years his contact with the liberal thinking in the Republican Party, WILLIAM LANGER brought a wealth of knowledge to the Senate. As it appears from his biography, he was a graduate of the Casselton High School in Casselton, N. Dak., the law department of the University of North Dakota, and of Columbia University. He married Lydia Cady of New York, who predeceased him some months before his passing. He left a family of lovely children.

Before he came to the Senate he was twice elected Governor of North Dakota. He was elected to the Senate in November of 1940, a year after I was elected to the Senate. He was reelected in 1946, in 1952, and again in 1958.

I served with him in the Judiciary Committee when he was chairman, and also when I was chairman. He was also a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. When WILLIAM LANGER got an idea about something, that idea stuck.

Remarks by Senator Prouty

Of Vermont

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, the late Senator WILLIAM LANGER will not soon be forgotten. Those who knew him well personally and those who had knowledge of his works as a public servant for almost half a century can attest to the uniqueness of his character and personality.

In my opinion, the most striking facet of Senator LANGER'S public life was best described in the funeral oration by the Most Reverend Leo F. Dworschak of Fargo, N. Dak., when he referred to the Senator's unshakable adherence to his convictions.

As in the case of others, it was not always possible for me to agree with those convictions. But it was never impossible for me to admire the courage and integrity and freedom from the pressures of political expediency which motivated WILLIAM LANGER. The record of his service in the Senate and the example of his sterling qualities of character will serve as beacon and guide to men in public life for many years to come.

Remarks by Senator Kefauver

Of Tennessee

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I became a Member of the Senate in 1949, but several years before that, while a Member of the House of Representatives, I came to know Senator LANGER. I knew of his colorful life, his independence, and his great courage, as well as his willingness and determination at all times to fight for the basic rights, particularly those of small people, the poor and destitute. He did this regardless of how it would affect him and entirely regardless of the opposition. These attributes of Senator LANGER's character had become a legend and throughout his long political life he never changed. In the truest sense of the word he was a champion of the underprivileged.

In the early and middle 1940's, I saw Senator LANGER often and I came to know him quite well. In my own case, as in the case of any new Member of the House or Senate, or in the case of any private citizen, whether or not he came from North Dakota, Senator LANGER was always willing to talk with the person, give him advice and share with him his wonderful and workable philosophy. He was never too busy or too tired to see anyone who sought his aid.

After I became a Member of the Senate, there was no Member of this body with whom I had a closer association or stronger personal ties than with Senator LANGER. I met with him frequently. I looked to him for advice and guidance and I am today, as I was then, one of his greatest admirers. When one needed to build up his courage to face a crisis or a particularly difficult situation, it was always well to have a little visit with Senator LANGER.

No man was ever more steadfast in expressing and voting his convictions as to what he believed to be in the best interests of his State and his country. He was ever zealous in

fighting to protect the individual liberty and the economic welfare of average people—the people of low income—or no income. He always tried to make it possible for the "little" people to get along financially. This was his philosophy to the end of his life and he had the undaunted courage to carry it out.

When Senator LANGER died, it was said that he was one of the greatest "mavericks" who ever lived. By "maverick," I suppose is meant a person who is a nonconformist, a person who, at times, may walk alone in defense of principles which he holds to be true. If Senator LANGER may be correctly described as a "maverick," then I consider to be described as a "maverick" the highest compliment which can be paid any man.

BILL LANGER had friends in all walks of life. No person was too far down the social scale for him to reach and extend a helping hand. He recognized no social barriers. He was the personal friend of many of us here today and he was the man to have in your corner when the going was rough. I well remember how he was criticized by some for riding in the train through North Dakota with former President Harry Truman when Mr. Truman was campaigning for reelection. That criticism bothered Senator LANGER not at all. He admired Mr. Truman and this feeling was evidently mutual. When Mr. Truman came to Washington to attend the funeral of Gen. George Marshall who died here October 16, 1959, he, having heard of the Senator's illness, telephoned him to inquire as to his health.

Senator LANGER will always be remembered by me as a man of great ability, a man of indomitable courage, a true liberal, of the kind we think of when we recall Bob La Follette and George Norris. Whether it was in North Dakota or in the Senate, BILL LANGER exemplified the kind of sturdy liberalism we associate with these two great men. They never fought harder for their ideals than did their disciple, Senator LANGER. He believed in the people—not just a privileged few—but all the people, regardless of where they lived, what

they did or how they voted. Many times I have visited his office and have seen the people waiting there to see him. These were not influential people, wealthy people, but little people from all over the country—not only North Dakota. Often they were discouraged, had failed to get consideration of their problems anywhere else, could not even get a hearing. These are the ones who most of all, as the years pass, will miss BILL LANGER. He sat down with them and listened to their problems and tried to help them work something out. If he thought their cases had merit, that they were being wronged, he took up their cause and fought tooth and nail for them, no matter how unpopular this cause might be. The story is told by a woman who lives here in Washington that one day in desperation she came down to the Senate Office Building to see a Senator to get some help. Being from Washington, she did not have any particular Senator in mind to go to. She told the guard at the door of the Senate Office Building that she wanted to see some Senator. He said, "Lady, if you are in trouble, you better see Senator LANGER."

Mr. President, among the many causes Senator LANGER championed was that of the American Indians. All of his life he fought for them to receive greater Federal aid and to improve their living conditions. In 1933, he was adopted into the Sioux Tribe and given the Indian name of Mahto which means "white bear." As an example of how the Indians felt about Senator LANGER, I should like to cite one little incident. In early 1956, Senator LANGER was stricken with pleurisy and pneumonia and was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital. The press, of course, carried daily reports of his condition which was most critical. One day it was reported that he was very low and needed blood transfusions. When the newspapers in California carried this distressing news, the Paiute Indian Tribe assembled and their chief sent a telegram to the Bethesda Naval Hospital stating that the members of the Paiute Tribe stood ready and willing and would consider it a privilege to give their blood for Senator LANGER.

Mr. President, such an example of devotion does not happen to many people.

BILL LANGER got angry at times, in a most distinct and individual manner. For that, and for resisting criticism, depending on the political philosophy of others, he was known as "Wild BILL." I know that when he was elected to the Senate—and this explains why he might have earned the nickname of "Wild BILL"—an attempt was made to prevent his being seated in the Senate. One of the charges was that he had disrespect for law and that, unlike other people who had broken out of jail, he had broken into jail, at Fort Yates, N. Dak.

About 5 or 6 years ago, when I was chairman of the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee and he was the ranking minority member, and when we worked very closely in trying to investigate problems of young people—and his interest was particularly in better education and economic social opportunity for young Indians—we had hearings on the plight of the Indian children at Fort Yates, N. Dak.

Out of those hearings came a very fine report, which he wrote, and as a result a great many improvements were made in the economic opportunities of Indians, particularly of Indian children, in educational as well as along other lines. On that occasion, during the luncheon recess, he said to me, "Estes, I want to take you down and let you see something." So we went down to the jail at Fort Yates. He said, "I want you to see the only jail in the world that somebody broke into." That was the breaking-into-the-jail incident that was recounted here on the floor of the Senate.

What had happened was this. He was always willing to protect the rights of people, whether he received any compensation for it or not. Five Indians were to be tried for murder, and he had been appointed by the court to defend them. He started down from Bismarck to try to see his clients before the trial. The rivers were up, transportation was difficult, and roads were hard to pass over. As a result, he did not get to Fort Yates until almost midnight. He asked

where the sheriff was. The deputy sheriff said the sheriff was out of town. So BILL LANGER said to the deputy sheriff, "I want to go in to see my clients to talk with them before they go on trial tomorrow."

The deputy sheriff said, "You can't get in. I am not going to let you in, and I am not going to let them out."

BILL LANGER said, "Where is the sheriff?"

The deputy sheriff said, "He is out of town. He will be back in the morning."

BILL LANGER said, "Where is the sheriff's office?"

The deputy sheriff said, "It is right down there to the left."

BILL LANGER said, "Where is the key to the jail?"

The deputy sheriff said, "It is on the sheriff's desk."

BILL LANGER asked the deputy sheriff to let him into the sheriff's office. The deputy sheriff would not do that.

So with his great strength, BILL LANGER just pushed the door down and got the key off the sheriff's desk. Then there was another little door between that door and where he could actually unlock the jail door. He tried to get the deputy sheriff to open that door, but he would not do it. So BILL LANGER threw his weight against that door also, and it fell apart. When he got inside the jail he locked it up again and spent the night with his Indian clients. They went on trial the next morning. As I remember, they were found not guilty of the murder charge.

That exemplifies the kind of man he was, and his determination to see that right was done.

I think that was a heroic deed. One could recount a great many stories of that kind about Senator LANGER. I hope that I expressed to his wonderful and beloved daughters, and to Mrs. Langer before she died, that I hoped these incidents in his life could be recounted. They are a part of the great folklore of the United States, and I hope that they may be collected some time.

I remember, for example, on that same trip to which I have referred, we heard some testimony in committee about

the unsanitary conditions in the Federal penitentiary on the Indian reservation. So Senator LANGER took some members of the staff and me to see the place where the Indians were incarcerated. We found there a horribly unsanitary condition—the prison not clean, smelly, and with no ventilation. Fourteen or fifteen Indian children had been thrown into prison with older, hardened criminals. Men and women were all together in the same prison, with little separation. He really raised a storm about it. He got the assistant U.S. district attorney to come down there, and he said he had to have a report on it to the Attorney General immediately. He never let up on it. Six or eight months after that the conditions in the Federal prison at Fort Yates were remedied.

Senator LANGER was a most insistent supporter of the right of free, competitive enterprise. I particularly emphasize the word "competitive." Wherever there was a cartel or monopoly or undue concentration of power that hurt the chances of an individual to get along in business in the United States, Senator LANGER, regardless of whether it was in North Dakota, and regardless of the pressure or the politics in the situation, was always ready to fight the monopoly.

It was in either the 79th or 80th Congress that Senator LANGER submitted a resolution which created the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly and became its first chairman. He asked for a modest appropriation to perform the important work of a study of economic concentration and the improvement of the antitrust laws, to determine what could be done to promote really competitive enterprise in the United States. But somewhere along the line in the Senate he was unable to get any appropriation whatsoever.

Nevertheless, he decided he was going to do this work. So he secured an administrative assistant by the name of Sidney Davis, a very able lawyer, one who was devoted to his work and who had a tremendous capacity for getting things done. Other members of the staff in Senator LANGER'S office also pitched in, as did some members of my own staff in their spare time.

During this time, Senator LANGER investigated assaults upon the Rural Electrification Administration. He investigated with great success the Dixon-Yates activities in my section of the country. He investigated the tie-in between certain insurance companies and loan organizations, which was causing people to pay exorbitant rates of interest for small sums of money which they might wish to borrow. He investigated many other activities, too. He continued to be chairman of that subcommittee, as he was also chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, until the change in administration. Then he became the ranking minority member.

I shall always remember that both in the subcommittee and in the full committee, as also on the floor of the Senate, every year when the request for appropriations came up, Senator LANGER would move to require a rollcall vote in the committee on the question of giving the committee $1 million for its investigative work, saying that any company under investigation would spend much more than that for attorney fees in order to try to protect itself from the antitrust laws or to make a presentation to his subcommittee. He maintained that the subcommittee ought to have sufficient personnel and means with which to operate in order to do a better job. When his request was refused, he would file minority views.

He always encouraged those around him to work harder and to fight with greater determination on vital matters affecting the basic principles of our economy and our Government.

Yes, BILL LANGER was an individualist of the kind America must have in order to further the interests of the people. Some persons who did not know Senator LANGER might have received the impression that he had never had a formal education; that he was a rough backwoodsman; that he was not soundly and firmly grounded in the principles of constitutional and antitrust laws. Actually, he was one of the most brilliant men who ever served in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, as I recall, Senator LANGER was graduated at the head of his law class at Columbia University and at

the age of 18. He took his bar examination in North Dakota and passed it at that age several years before he could become a member of the bar. He was a brilliant student. He had a great ability to grasp facts. Even in later years, when his eyesight failed, he had Miss Eleanor Guthridge, Mr. Peter Chumbris, or Mrs. Irene Edwards read to him all the hearings of the committees of which he was a member. He kept abreast of everything which was taking place and his memory was remarkable.

During his service in the Senate, I had the opportunity to be in his office frequently, and thus got to know him better. One of the marks of a man is how the members of his staff feel about him, and how they work for him. Senator LANGER had one of the finest, most efficient, most loyal staffs which any Senator ever had. He selected the members of his staff with care. They worked overtime. No assignment was too difficult to have it done effectively. Mrs. Irene Edwards was Senator LANGER's administrative assistant. She is a very capable woman and I wish I had the time to mention more of the members of his very able staff.

During the time Senator LANGER was the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, Peter Chumbris, who is still counsel for the minority, told me that he worked long hours at night; that he would read the hearings to Senator LANGER. The devotion of all the members of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly to Senator LANGER was close and intense.

Mr. President, it is wonderful to reflect on the love, deep devotion, and close relationship in the Langer family. Mrs. Langer, a truly great and noble woman in her own right—a gracious lady—stood side by side with her husband whether the going was easy or tough. The close companionship between Senator and Mrs. Langer was inspiring. It was difficult to see how after her untimely passing he could carry on. But he tried and did his best nobly.

Senator LANGER's daughters, Emmy, Lydia, Mimi, and Cornelia, and the members of their families, were all devoted

to their father and were close to him. Such a relationship was undoubtedly an inspiring and wonderful thing to Senator LANGER, as it was inspiring to all of us.

Senator LANGER was an individual of the kind America must have in order to further the interests of the people of this great country. He fought valiantly, and I know he has inspired many persons to fight with greater determination to protect our country's system of democracy and opportunity.

I feel a sense of great personal loss at his passing, as I am sure all of my colleagues do. I again extend to his daughters and to other members of his family my heartfelt sympathy and my gratitude that the United States should have had a citizen, a Senator, a husband, and a father like BILL LANGER, of North Dakota.

Remarks by Senator Long

Of Louisiana

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, the real greatness of some men is never fully appreciated until some years after their passing. That will be true of BILL LANGER.

By his service in this body, Senator LANGER demonstrated that he was a man of deep convictions. He was convinced that the little person was usually overlooked and neglected by the Government, and would continue to be unless someone fought vigorously and in forthright fashion for him.

BILL LANGER had great courage. Often he was the only one to vote against measures which at the time were very popular. Many of us have lived to see that his judgment on some of those occasions was much more correct than the public was willing to admit at that time.

BILL LANGER never was afraid to fight for an unpopular cause, if he thought it to be right. Many of us have seen him time and again make such fights.

From time to time some would say that BILL LANGER was unpredictable or perhaps inconsistent. Yet in a great many ways he was one of the most consistent of all Senators to serve in this body during the 11 years I have been here. He was certainly consistent, in that he was always on the side of the poor man, the little man, the under privileged, or those who had been neglected by society as a whole.

I know from personal experience that BILL LANGER was a true friend. He was the kind of friend who would stay by those who believed in him and whom he loved, even though it might cost him much politically. I could tell a number of stories, some of deep meaning to me, which demonstrate that fact.

BILL LANGER was one of those who made it possible for his party during his time to have in it elements of both liberal-

ism and conservatism. Some have said that the greatest strength of both parties lies in the fact that they contain within themselves both those elements. He gave his party great strength because he added the breath of liberalism from the Midwest, to strengthen his party and make it more vibrant and varied.

During his last election, BILL LANGER was unable physically to make a campaign. He was opposed by a majority of the Republican Party leaders. Even so, he placed his name on the ballot and left his political fate in the hands of the people of North Dakota. He was elected overwhelmingly. This was one of the most ringing tributes to the strength of our democracy that I have ever seen. It proved that those who know and believe in a man will not quit him easily.

The passing of BILL LANGER is a real loss to the Senate, not only to Senators on the other side of the aisle, but also to Senators on this side of the aisle. All of us are the poorer because his true voice of liberalism from the great West has been lost to this Chamber.

I treasure the memory of BILL LANGER. His friendship was one of the great and highly privileged experiences I have had in this body.

Remarks by Senator Hill

Of Alabama

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I was a Member of the Senate when Senator LANGER came here, and I was privileged to serve with him here during his entire tenure. He and I did not always agree; but he was always my friend, and he was always the good, the faithful, the generous, and the helpful friend, as the distinguished Senator from Louisiana has so well stated.

In my long service in the Congress, I have never known a more courageous or a more independent representative of the people or one who was more indefatigable in his work for the people or was more devoted and dedicated to the interests and the welfare of all the people, and particularly—as the Senator from Louisiana has said—the little people, whose voices so often are not heard as they should be. BILL LANGER was always fighting for them. He was a valiant fighter, a mighty warrior.

I shall greatly miss him. I am sure that when he left us, the hearts of the people of North Dakota were saddened, and in their hearts was the accolade, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Remarks by Senator Case

Of South Dakota

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it was my privilege to meet Senator and Mrs. LANGER in 1934, a quarter of a century ago At that time he came to Rapid City, S. Dak., with Mrs. Langer, in response to an invitation which had been extended by some of the people of that community, to make a speech there. His speech was rather impressive. He told the story of his life; he told of the vicissitudes, the hard times, the political misfortunes, and the political fortunes he had had.

But the thing which remained in my memory was the story of how he had put an embargo upon the sale of wheat when he was Governor of North Dakota. When he felt that the farmers of North Dakota were not getting a fair price for their wheat in Minneapolis, after it was shipped from North Dakota, he declared an embargo. I never was sure of the legal background for it. But, at any rate, it worked for several weeks; and, as a result, some measure of improvement in the price was effected. As a result of that story which he told at that time, I have always remembered him as a man who believed in taking whatever action he felt necessary in order to accomplish what he believed to be a good end.

I may say that at that time Senator LANGER came to South Dakota at the invitation of Chester Leedom, whom we knew as "Chet" Leedom, the father of the Honorable Boyd Leedom.

Senator LANGER's interest in the Leedom family followed down through the years; and I remember that when Mr. Leedom's nomination came before the Senate for confirmation, no Member of the Senate took a greater interest in its confirmation than did Senator LANGER.

All during his life—as has been said so many times on the floor this morning—Senator LANGER had a great interest in

the common people, and he had a great hold upon them. I do not know that any other Member of the Senate could point to a greater demonstration of the affection of the people than that given by the people of North Dakota when Senator LANGER ran the last time for reelection, and was reelected, even though he did not go back to North Dakota during the main part of the campaign. He remained in Washington because of his devotion to his wife, who then was very, very ill. The people understood that, and they rewarded him with their confidence at the polls.

Senator LANGER was something of a political maverick, so far as normal political ties are concerned. But he took great pride in the fact that he was what he called an Abraham Lincoln-Theodore Roosevelt Republican, and also in the fact that Theodore Roosevelt had spent a number of his early years near Medora, N. Dak., and there acquired some of the characteristics of Western self-reliance and independence which later were evidenced in his public career.

Despite Senator LANGER's great ability to speak the language of the common man, he was a man of great legal learning. I think others have already stated that he was first in his law class at one of the great law colleges in the eastern part of the United States.

Senator LANGER will be remembered by the people of North Dakota and by the people throughout the area of the Dakotas because of his friendship for the common man. He truly believed, with Lincoln, that God must have loved the common man, because He made so many of them. The life of Senator LANGER was a living expression of that faith.

Remarks by Senator Gruening

Of Alaska

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I rise to join with my colleagues in paying a well deserved tribute to the memory of the late senior Senator from North Dakota, Mr. WILLIAM LANGER.

It is not my intention, Mr. President, in offering these few brief words in praise of the life, the works, and the deeds of BILL LANGER, to imply that they need any encomium from me here on the Senate floor. For they live long in the memory of man. They are embodied in the many tangible, beneficial accomplishments of his years in this body.

For me—and for us here in the Senate—BILL LANGER's actions may well serve as ideals for a standard of life. He was, in the first instance, a fierce and valiant fighter for the equality of the State he represented among the other States of the Union. In that sense—in the best sense of the words—he was one of the foremost champions of States rights.

But with all such championship, BILL LANGER guided his every action by his fundamental belief that it was his duty to act in these halls as one of the spokesmen for the needy, the downtrodden, and the oppressed. We all know and can recount innumerable instances in which BILL LANGER "took the floor" to denounce—in words and tones that left no room for doubt as to his position—some injustice being wreaked upon an individual or group of individuals. He was undaunted by the high station of those he opposed. He was equally fearless in the face of great odds.

For him it was enough to know in his own mind that he was on the side of right and truth and justice for the little man. In his every action and in his every deed, BILL LANGER showed that he was truly the representative of the people—not alone the people of North Dakota, but also the people of all the United States.

WILLIAM LANGER

Alaskans should and will always gratefully remember BILL LANGER'S allout advocacy of statehood for Alaska. This advocacy did not come in the latter stages of our battle, but was manifested way back in the very beginning, when the cause was beset with any obstacles and much opposition. But BILL LANGER, with his deeply ingrained faith in basic American principles, felt deeply that government by consent of the governed was perhaps the most basic of all of them. And so feeling and so believing, he naturally became a vigorous and outspoken protagonist of Alaskan statehood. He made this clear when he visited Alaska in 1945 as a member of a Senate committee, and when as Governor of Alaska I had the opportunity to get to know him better.

The people of the great State of North Dakota are highly to be commended for having sent to the Senate of the United States a man of the great stature of BILL LANGER, and of keeping him there.

His voice on the Senate floor and in the committee rooms has now been stilled. But the memory of what he stood for, the memory of the man who dared to speak out forthrightly when, as was often the case, his was the voice of righteousness crying in the wilderness, these memories will live on for many, many years. Those of us who worked with BILL LANGER and who came to know and admire him will long remember him as a great Senator of the United States.

Remarks by Senator Keating

Of New York

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, in concert with his friends on both sides of the aisle, I join in paying tribute to the late Senator LANGER. It was my pleasure to know BILL LANGER particularly well because of our association on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

He was a man of forthright convictions and independence who never hesitated to speak his mind. Other than a speaking acquaintance or meeting him at a social function, or otherwise, I did not know BILL LANGER well until 3 or 4 years ago when I did something in the House of Representatives—I have forgotten what it was now—which did not meet with his favor. He wrote me a very sharp letter expressing his conviction on the subject, to which I replied in kind. In that way—and those who knew BILL LANGER here will understand it—what I consider, and what I am sure he considered, a firm and fast friendship was formed.

He was a fighter for the principles in which he believed. He was, in every sense, a happy warrior, and he was most considerate of those who from time to time might differ with him on an issue.

He had, certainly, a political toughness second to none, and his political acumen, as reflected in the repeated endorsements by the people of North Dakota, speaks for itself.

No finer tribute could be paid to BILL LANGER than to say that in election after election the people of the State where he lived and which he served expressed their confidence in him as a person and as a public official. Those who knew him best loved him most.

His passing is a loss not only to his family and to his friends, but to the State of North Dakota and the Nation which he served. I join my colleagues in expressing deep sympathy to his loved ones who remain.

Remarks by Senator Yarborough

Of Texas

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, from the time I entered the Senate in April of 1957 until his death, I served on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee with Senator LANGER.

In my service in the Senate I have known no other Senator more devoted than Senator LANGER to the welfare of his country and that of the person with small economic resources.

Senator LANGER did not measure individual worth, the human spirit, intellectual achievement, or a person's value to humanity by the amount of wealth he had amassed.

He crossed party lines constantly, all party lines, to vote his convictions. He would vote against all political parties combined, if he thought they were not advancing the welfare of the average American family.

On the committee on which I served with him, I found him deeply devoted to the welfare of the workers of America, all workers, organized and unorganized, to the civil servants of this Government, to the postal employees, and to the farmers of America.

As a representative of a High Plains agriculture State, he had the fierce independence so characteristic of the High Plains area of the great central basin of the United States. In keeping with the spirit of the Great Plains, he was a progressive—a true progressive for reform, economic, political, and governmental.

As I served with him on the committee, I was the beneficiary of his kindly advice, always given for the benefit of the people, never to advance himself.

Senator LANGER's spirit, intelligence, and humanitarianism left an imprint and influence on this body and on the laws of this country which will be felt for generations.

One of the high privileges that came to me from working in the Senate of the United States was knowing BILL LANGER and serving on the committee with him.

It was a great thing for the United States that he came to Washington.

Remarks by Senator Young

Of Ohio

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, while the Senate was in adjournment, death came to one of our most beloved and respected colleagues, a man whose memory will shine brightly and enduringly in the minds of Americans everywhere.

Indeed, Mr. President, I am sure that as we sit here today, each of us feels keenly and in a deeply personal sense the absence of our late colleague, Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota. Over the years, while serving in the other body, I came to know of the activities and achievements of Senator WILLIAM LANGER, and I have held him in the highest admiration.

It can truly be said of our beloved colleague that he lived with an abiding faith in the democratic process which he zealously guarded, and, by doing so, provided a ringing affirmation of our way of life in these times of trial and torment.

A sense of dedication to his office and the people he represented illuminated his nearly 20 years of fruitful service in the U.S. Senate.

Senator WILLIAM LANGER—BILL LANGER to us who knew him well—was a generous, warm, and understanding human being. But, above all, he was a fighter for the causes in which he believed.

He exemplified a spirit which is more and more absent in American life in an age when much of the country jumps to the erratic and seductive tune of Madison Avenue, a spirit of individual courage and conviction which brooked no compromise with conscience.

As he took his position in the frontline of combat for his cause, he never looked behind him to count the supporting troops. He cared not if there were many or there were none,

but, like the "skirmishers who drove their pickets in," moved forward in just belief of the rightness of his cause.

Therefore, Mr. President, I should like to share a poem with my colleagues in the belief that it pays proper tribute to a man who often fought alone, and always valiantly and with conviction.

The battle thunders all along the line;
The mustered myriads drink its draught like wine!
We charge in lusty squadrons unafraid,
Cheered by the bellow of our cannonade.
Still stands the embattled host of vested wrong,
Unshaken, unabashed, unconquered, strong;
But right now has her fields of clustered spears,
And shakes the air with trampling and with cheers!
The fight seems dubious; yet one thing we know,
The fight shall not be lost without a blow!
The soldier dies; but as his senses swim
He sees the line sweep on, with eyes grown dim.
The wounded lie and bleed—their faces shine
As billowing cheers come sweeping down the line!
All now is glory, conquest, conflict, thrill;
The great war dims the sky and shakes the hill;
The very mass of battle bears us high
In generous resolve to do or die—
And we forget, in the tense urge to win,
The skirmishers that drove their pickets in!
They fought in the gray dawn, cold and alone,
A hardy few, darting from tree to stone,
No fife and drum, no touch of elbow cheered—
They saw no following host with flags upreared;
And that which wrung their valiant spirits most
Was the dread doubt, "There is no following host!"
Yet through the fearsome jungle forth they went,
Felt for the foe, and drove him to his tent;
And in the splendid faith that one good blow
Is each man's legal debt to every foe,
They struck. The sparse fire crackled through the dawn,
Grew, greatened, roared—and the great war was on!
So let us honor, 'Mid the battle's din,
The skirmishers that drove their pickets in!

Mr. President, Senator William Langer—Bill Langer to all of us—was indeed a brave skirmisher who drove his

pickets in. He was a great and good man—an intellectual man of force and integrity—and he will be remembered reverently by all who served with or knew him.

Remarks by Senator Douglas

Of Illinois

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it has not been my practice to take part in tributes paid to deceased Members of the Senate for a variety of reasons, one of which has been that I have often felt many of these tributes, while doubtlessly sincere, did not give a full picture of the men in whose memory they were delivered. They have often seemed excessively fulsome. I cannot, however, remain silent when these tributes are being paid to Senator LANGER, because of all the Members of the Senate in our generation I think Senator LANGER was the most misunderstood, the most improperly attacked, and the one who perhaps suffered more from the hands of his opponents than any other Member of this body.

Senator LANGER was an extremely misunderstood man. It was sometimes charged against him that he was not intellectually well trained. The truth of the matter is that he was not only a graduate of Columbia Law School, but one of the graduates with the highest academic record in the entire history of that law school, standing No. 1 or No. 2 in the entire list of graduates. I went to Columbia in 1913, and his reputation as an able student and a scholar had spread through the entire university.

This quality Senator LANGER retained all through his life. So as we pay tribute to him, we should realize that death sometimes sweeps away misunderstandings and enables the true character of a man to be revealed. Sometimes it is covered up with false praise, but frequently erroneous misapprehensions are swept away and the man can stand revealed in his own real character.

There was another misapprehension about Senator LANGER, and that was the statement frequently made that his actions were unpredictable. I had been here only about 3 months

when I decided I could predict his actions on every issue. I think there were two factors which were keys to his voting record and to his speeches in the Senate.

In the first place, if anyone was in trouble, if anyone was being persecuted or prosecuted unjustly, Senator LANGER would be not only on his feet talking, but also voting, acting, and working.

Very frequently we say we love the "common man," but sometimes this is not borne out by our actions. Of all the men I have ever known in public life, Senator LANGER more than any other could be depended upon to defend the friendless, to help the man who was down and out, to argue for the weak against the strong, to urge claims of justice against the arguments of sophistry.

This was a completely predictable factor about him which won my affection and respect, and won the respect of a great many others. I think in the long run it is going to win the respect of the people of the United States and of the great Northwest.

There was another characteristic about Senator LANGER which was always predictable. He was an opponent of American participation in international affairs. On this point I differed with him, but I knew the sincerity of his actions and I knew his belief sprang in part from the abuse which he took during the First World War and the period subsequent to that time. During those years he went through a Calvary, following the course he believed to be correct, and pursuing it with courage. I believe this explanation should be borne in mind by those who have criticized the actions of the La Follettes, of Colonel Lindbergh, of Burton K. Wheeler, and others who went through similar difficult experiences.

As I have indicated, much of the time I did not agree with Senator LANGER'S foreign policy, but I knew its roots. I knew that there was a great deal to be said for his position, and I knew that it was in conformity with the deepest promptings of his conscience.

Senator LANGER was also a man of great courage. He was willing to take on the entire Senate. He was willing to take

on the press and the politicians of North Dakota and of the country. He was not afraid of anyone or anything. He had the courage of a lion. Moreover, he had the most winning trait of a puckish sense of humor which at times was embarrassing to his friends. He loved nothing better than to sit in front of a Senator who was making a speech and then ask questions which showed weak points in his argument or which might expose some insincerity or contradictions in his position. He did it with a smile, which made us really laugh at ourselves.

We shall miss him. To my mind he was a great American. I believe that he will prove to be one of the figures in American history who, attacked, reviled, and misunderstood during his lifetime, with the passage of time come to be recognized as brave, noble, warmhearted, sincere, a fighter for the weak, the poor, and the friendless.

Remarks by Senator Cooper

Of Kentucky

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, when Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, died the Senate lost an able, resourceful, and colorful Member. These qualities were recognized by all who served with him and knew him.

Today I desire to speak about another side of his character, which became manifest to me when I first came to the Senate in 1947. I learned of his kindness, his regard and affection for others, and his deep sympathy toward their problems. His love for his wife and family was known to all of us.

I shall never forget the opening day of the Senate in 1947, when Senator LANGER, having just completed a successful campaign for reelection, rose in the Senate to pay tribute to his wife for her helpfulness and her constant support during the stirring days of his political career and life. He spoke of his affection and love for her. His association with his noble wife and their children was a model and inspiration to everyone.

I also noted the regard of members of the staff of Senator LANGER for him and their constant helpfulness to him when he was ill, and particularly when he was shocked by the tragedy of Mrs. Langer's death. I feel certain that their regard and affection for him was but a reciprocation of his affection for them and his interest in their problems.

Senator LANGER's political philosophy embraced a sympathy toward the strivings of the people of the United States for better opportunities in life. As has been said here today, his voting record was independent, and, many thought, unpredictable. Yet I believe he had a standard to which he adhered. I do not wish to oversimplify his political philosophy, but I shall always remember that day in 1947 when I asked Senator LANGER to tell me about his political beliefs.

He responded simply by saying that during his political career he had always wanted to work and vote for the interests of the great body of the people of our country who had not enjoyed the opportunities enjoyed by the more fortunate.

He said to me—and I remember his exact words—"They need help. The others can take care of themselves."

I am glad that I knew him. I enjoyed his friendship. We have missed him in the Senate, and will continue to miss him. I am sure the people of his State and many others throughout the country will miss him. They will miss his sympathy and striving for those who, he said, "need help most."

Today we extend our sympathy to his daughters and his friends on his staff who worked with him so faithfully.

Remarks by Senator Mundt

Of South Dakota

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the late Senator LANGER has been identified with the history of the Dakotas for considerably more than three decades. While, of course, he was a North Dakotan, and served officially the people of North Dakota, he represented many of the same occupational and vocational pursuits and geographic interests as do the people for the sister State of South Dakota.

Throughout his long career, as has been said by other speakers today, certain characteristics stood out positively and clearly in the activities of Senator LANGER. Certainly he was a fighter, a fighter who devoted himself most enthusiastically and energetically to the point of view he espoused, sometimes in conformity with the minority point of view and sometimes with the majority point of view, but once having determined his position, he fought for it valiantly and vigorously.

A second characteristic about BILL LANGER was that he was loyal to his friends. As is usually the case with that type of man, in turn his friends were loyal to BILL LANGER.

Something has been said about his being concerned with the little people. I happen to be one who believes that there are no "little people" in America, that Americans are all "big people" in their exercise of freedom and the power of self-government. Americans are all big and they are all important by virtue of the fact that this great opportunity system of ours was made to serve them all. I do not know what is implied sometimes by the smug statement of someone who obviously thinks he is a big fellow, when he says, "I am for the little fellow."

I believe that BILL LANGER had friends among all types of Americans. I do not believe he ever talked about little fel-

lows, because I do not believe he tried to separate himself from average, typical Americans. I believe that to call a man an American is to deny completely at once that he is a little fellow.

I know a North Dakota banker who knew BILL LANGER well, and admired him greatly. He was loyal to him in all his campaigns, and BILL LANGER was certainly loyal to his friend. He is one of the biggest and most successful bankers in North Dakota. Bill Stern is known to many Members of this body. He is certainly in the upper averages financially. He is a most successful banker, and a highly respected financial man in North Dakota. He was a close, warm friend of WILLIAM LANGER. He differed with him on certain issues; but in politics if those who differ with us never supported us, not many of us would be here very long, because we cannot possibly vote always with the point of view held by all of our constituents.

BILL LANGER was loyal to his friends. He had friends in the banks. He had friends in the legal profession. He had friends on the farms, and among industrial workers. He had friends among all his fellow Americans. I am sure he never tried to drive a wedge between himself and what might be smugly talked about as a "little American."

BILL LANGER was a hard worker. I doubt if I ever saw a man devote himself more vigorously to the functions of the Senate in time of health or in time of illness, during the day or during the night, than did BILL LANGER.

He worked at the job of being a Senator. With the help of a most loyal and efficient staff, he rendered good service to all of the people of North Dakota, regardless of their economic status and quite regardless of their party affiliation. He worked at the job in committee and worked at the job on the floor of the Senate. He was energetic. He thought the place for a Senator was in the Senate. He worked at the chores attendant upon the position of being a Member of the Senate.

I remember well, as he sat only a few seats removed from my desk, during the days of what became his terminal illness—obviously ill at ease and not well—that he would stay until the final rollcall of the night and would be here until the Senate recessed for the day. He would be here to vote, even when it was clear from the beginning what the result of the vote would be, whether it would be to sustain a point of view in which he believed or to defeat it, and where the result obviously was forecast by the committee report and the discussion and debate on the floor. He felt a Senator should be voting on the floor. He never believed in walking out on a rollcall, and he would never duck an issue. He wanted his position printed in the permanent Record.

I recall a personal experience which brought home to me the vigor and the fighting determination of Senator LANGER. We were meeting in the Old Supreme Court Chamber during the 2d session of the 81st Congress, while our present Chamber was being refurbished and refurnished and changed. We were debating the Mundt-Nixon bill. He was against it. Obviously, I was in favor of it. It had been passed in the 1st session of that Congress by the House, and it had come over to the Senate. It was when we were about to have the final vote on the Mundt-Nixon bill, which had become the first 17 sections of the Internal Security Act.

For reasons which were understood by Senator LANGER, he was clearly very much opposed to it. He tried to defeat it in committee. He tried to dissuade me from offering the proposal. He had sworn war to the death against it. He became the leader of an embattled group of 7 or 8 Senators who were determined to filibuster the Mundt-Nixon security provisions to death. His did not represent a very great large body of opinion in the Senate, because even though the President had vetoed the bill, only 10 or 11 votes on the side espoused by Senator LANGER were finally recorded against it. That did not dampen his enthusiasm or dim his vigor. He came to me—and we were always good personal friends—about 1 o'clock in the morning on which I believe

was the second day of the day and night filibuster that went on around the clock, and went on and on, to become, I think the Senate's longest filibuster in many generations. He said to me, "Now Karl, I want you to tell me when your side relinquishes the floor, because I want to talk and hold the floor all night."

I did not want him to hold the floor all night, but that did not deter me from saying, "I will alert you at the time when the last speaker who has the floor sits down." I did so. I said to him, "BILL, you are not in the best of health. Why don't you take a morning shift? You have enough fellows on your side who can hold the floor through the night, who will help you run this around the clock until morning."

He said, "I would not think of it. I am ready to go on."

At about 1:30 in the morning he began a talk which I suspect led to one of the most sensational and memorable scenes which any Senator now serving in the Senate has ever witnessed, because at 4:30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, after he had talked for several hours, BILL LANGER began to suffer from what we later learned was diabetic shock. He began to sway a little and to weave. However that did not indicate that anything was wrong to the doctor who was sitting in the Chamber, because BILL LANGER was an animated speaker. He moved around and weaved and swayed and walked around for many other reasons than that he might be suffering from an imminent attack. He went into shock and, to the distress of all who were there, BILL LANGER collapsed flat on the floor of the Senate.

Of course the leader in charge of the Senate at that time, confronted with that type of situation, did the convenient thing which the Senate has created for situations of all types of unusual occurrences. He made the point of order that a quorum was not present. The doctor rushed over, attachés surrounded him, and from all appearances BILL LANGER lay there inanimate, in death. The doctor sensed the difficulty and did what a doctor does in such a situation.

He ministered to him promptly and called an ambulance, and BILL LANGER, still unconscious, was carried out of the old Supreme Court Chamber and was placed in an ambulance and taken away. Twenty-four or thirty-six hours later the filibuster was broken and a yea and nay vote was had. BILL LANGER was absent from the Senate.

I mention that occurrence to point out the devotion to a point of view, a point of view which obviously I thought was wrong but which he thought was right. BILL LANGER believing in his side, fought on even when he realized, as he must have, that something was wrong with him at 4:30 or 5 o'clock in the morning. He did not throw in the towel. He did not make the point of order that a quorum was not present. He did not ask for a substitute. He kept on talking until he blacked out in the presence of his colleagues.

I knew Senator LANGER best, of course, because of our association in problems involving the great agricultural industry, because North Dakota and South Dakota are probably the two most agricultural States in the Union, depending to a greater degree on the income from the farmlands of our great States than any other State. BILL LANGER was a great friend of agriculture, an earnest and sincere friend of the farmer. We participated jointly in many debates on the subject of agriculture, although we participated in many debates on opposing sides when it came to matters involving so-called security legislation in Congress, and on other items.

BILL LANGER, with his great driving energy and capacity and his loyalty to friends, supported in every Congress legislation helpful to the solution of the farm problem. He was always on the side that he conceived to be the farmer's side in economic issues, the farmer's side in proposals involving changes in agriculture. I know that the leadership he gave and the support he provided for agricultural causes helped for many a dark year to keep alive the hope and the belief and the conviction that finally and ultimately Congress will come up with a program which has permanent validity and survival value from the standpoint of helping farmers receive

their fair share of the national income, which they do not now receive, and which Senator LANGER was among the foremost in proclaiming as being one of the weaknesses in our economic structure—the fact that those who labor on the farm are not paid or compensated proportionately with those who labor in the businesses, the professions, or the ranks of organized labor in the industrial East.

We shall all miss BILL LANGER deeply. The sympathy of Mrs. Mundt and myself goes out to the members of his family and his relatives. The people of North Dakota, who knew BILL LANGER best, rewarded him most frequently and supported him consistently because they felt, correctly, that he was a great friend of the people of North Dakota whom he represented.

Remarks by Senator Randolph

Of West Virginia

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Senator LANGER worked as if he were to live forever, and lived as if he were to die tomorrow. This would be my appraisal of the service of the late senior Senator from North Dakota, whom I came to know first 20 years ago, when I was a Member of the House of Representatives, in the year he came to this body.

We served together on conference committees. I came to understand him and to appreciate him.

My tribute today, in less than a hundred words, is a most sincere one.

Remarks by Senator Fong

Of Hawaii

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I rise to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of Senator BILL LANGER. I knew Senator LANGER personally for only 3 weeks. But long before I knew him, I have heard of the great Senator from the great State of North Dakota, of his indomitable spirit and of his political courage, acumen, and independence.

We in Hawaii knew him as one of the foremost fighters for statehood for Hawaii.

Although my friendship with him was for a very limited period, I consider myself fortunate to have known him as a colleague and as a friend. In the 3 weeks I served with him in this Chamber, I learned to admire and respect him as a man of great courage, as a distinguished and able Senator, and as an outstanding American. I shall always cherish the memory of the brief association I had with him. I know the State of Hawaii will always remember him as a great champion of statehood for Hawaii.

Remarks by Senator Dirksen

Of Illinois

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I suppose that one can truly say that in every life there is some transcendent passion. With different people it takes different forms. But there is always that impelling force, whether people are of high or low degree, or to whatever estate they may have been born. It might be a search for fame. That impelling force might carry them on to seek riches or to seek high reputation and esteem in the eyes of their fellow men. It might be something which goes into the sentimental or the affectionate feeling. But I believe one can analyze every human being and find that there is one of those transcendent impulses. Not only is that true of those in public life, but I presume it is true of all persons in private life.

I think in this month particularly of Abraham Lincoln. He was probably about 45 or 47 when the great moral resurgency in him took place, and he found precisely the course which he must pursue. I think that was true in the life of Thomas A. Edison and the life of Luther Burbank. When I think of those who live in the political atmosphere, I think of men like Robert Marion La Follette, George W. Norris, William Edgar Borah, and a great many others. While we may disagree as individuals, yet there is that impelling influence.

So I learned through close association with Senator LANGER that there was just such a transcendent passion in his life. I came very close to him, because I think I was probably the only Member on my side of the aisle who undertook, at his request, to participate in a television program which could be sent out to North Dakota, even after his own party convention had repudiated him. I will never forget his saying to me, as we were walking to the Senate Office Building, "You

are my friend, and I am your friend. You are going to do this for me."

What could one say under those circumstances? I knew I was going to be chastised; I knew I was going to be reproached and scolded; and I was, because men high in our party in his State called the leader of the Senate on our side, called others in Washington, and remonstrated that the assistant minority leader, a Republican, had undertaken, in the face of the verities in the State of North Dakota, to participate in a television film, have it reproduced, and have numbers of the reproductions sent there to help in Senator LANGER'S campaign. I am glad that I did it, because it was in that small way that I could express my esteem for a man in whom there was a great passion and a great enthusiasm for humanity.

Such a passion can take many forms. Sometimes it can be noble; sometimes it can be ignoble. It can manifest itself in the slightest ways. I remember well all the letters Senator LANGER used to put in the Congressional Record, letters from humble, obscure people in the State of North Dakota. But he did it as if they were sizzling messages from on high or from one of the greatest statesmen of profound juridical mind in the whole wide world. He did it because his heart was in it. He did it when the remonstrances came, perhaps from only 8 or 10 Senators, over some question relating to agriculture. He did it in espousing lost causes and espousing the causes of people who had no other advocate—no one else to speak for them.

As we sat together in the Committee on the Judiciary year after year, at times I found it necessary to oppose him. I found it necessary to contest with him, and to do it with some vigor because he would ask for the consideration of a bill when, offtimes, the department or agency involved had sent an objection to the committee, and one was reasonably certain that the bill might be vetoed, and one was reasonably sure in his own mind as a personal matter that it should not be enacted. But with BILL LANGER, it might represent a cause, a cause for a group of people or

for single individuals. He would pursue such a cause relentlessly and with the utmost vigor.

Sometimes I used to remonstrate, and sometimes I assumed the prerogative of age to scold a little, but it made no difference. He would say, "These people are entitled to be heard. It does not make any difference what the armed services say. It does not make any difference what the Department of the Interior wrote to the committee. It does not make any difference what some Cabinet member said. These people are entitled to be heard, and I want this bill reported by the committee and placed on the calendar, so that the Senate can work its will on it."

Up to the last hour of his life, he never relented from that deep and charitable instinct, that charitable interest in the affairs of people. It was thorough, it was voluntary, it was complete, and it was a dedication to a cause.

I think the great essayist Seeley once described loyalty as a thoroughgoing, voluntary enthusiasm for humanity. I believe that typifies the great ruling passion and force in the life of WILLIAM LANGER as nothing else could do.

I sat with him in his home, to counsel and to console, when his beloved and gracious wife was smitten with a very serious illness. I recall that a month before his death he called me, and said, "I wish you would recommend a physician. I have just come back after the last attack of pneumonia, and I am quite dissatisfied; and maybe someone can do something for me."

He did follow my advice; he did go to the clinic. But already the shadows were getting longer, and he was thinking about his eternal reward.

Unknown to me at that time, which probably was 3 weeks before his passing, he was already preparing his soul and getting ready for the surrender of the spirit and for the long journey.

So, Mr. President, as I thought of him in retrospect, and as I thought of him again during the memorial service we had in the Senate reception room, I thought of what a true

blue character his really was. Like an actor who not only knows his lines, but also knows what to do when there is curtain call after curtain call and he steps out before an admiring public, the real actor on life's stage never gets out of character. He preserves his dialect and the costume that he wears, and before the people he utters what he has to say in the spirit of the line which have brought him high estate upon the stage.

William Langer was like that to his last day. He never got out of character. He was really a great enthusiast for humanity.

Remarks by Senator Morse

Of Oregon

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, BILL LANGER was one of my precious, true friends. I suspect that each one of us, when he is really honest with himself, will admit that during a lifetime one garners unto himself very few true friends. One has many friends of various descriptions, and some are fair weather friends. But I think at least most of us have a relatively small number of true friends, although we may have many friends and many associates.

But a true friend is one who stands with you when you are down, and offers a helping hand. When you make a mistake, he seeks to give advice to you, in correcting the mistake. He stands with you when you ride the crest, and shares your happiness; and he is at your side when sadness overcomes you, when some great loss within your family or some great loss in political fortune or business or some other loss makes the day a dark one for you.

BILL LANGER was the type of true friend who was always at your side in all the fortunes and misfortunes of life that came your way.

He was a great teacher, one of my greatest in political philosophy and science.

I think it very difficult to put into capsule form the epitome of BILL LANGER'S political philosophy. But if I were asked to do so, I would do it in this way: At the time of his death, I said he was the last of the Populists in American political life. When one analyzes the great current of the political philosophy of the Populists, I think it is fair to say it will be found that they believed it was the responsibility of an elected official of a free people to protect the economically weak from the exploitation of the economically strong. And

so much of the political record of BILL LANGER was written in keeping with that mandate.

The Populists, of whom I have always considered BILL LANGER a great one, led the fight in our country in the days of the exploitation of the railroad barons when they were guilty of such scandalous thievery across the West, the Northwest, and on the Pacific coast.

BILL LANGER was in the fight against the banking barons when they were seeking to exploit the economically weak, and became involved in some of the great banking controversies in the political history of the State of North Dakota.

BILL LANGER was in the fight against the lumber barons in the heyday of their great power, when they wreaked such devastation upon the heritage of generations of Americans.

BILL LANGER was a Populist who was in the forefront of the fight to protect the economic interests of the family farmers of America. And up to his dying day BILL LANGER was battling, as he had battled for years and years, to protect the economic interests of the American farmer.

Mr. President, North Dakota has never been a great industrial State. North Dakota has never been a State in which organized labor has been a particularly dominant factor in State politics. But, when there were only a relatively few union members in North Dakota, BILL LANGER was one of the great battlers for the rights of free labor in the United States, and could always be counted upon to be in the forefront of any movement that sought to protect the economic rights of labor from the exploitation of antilabor forces.

Mr. President, BILL LANGER, I am sure, would not want to be described this morning in these beautiful eulogies as anything but what he was. I knew him as a rough, tough political fighter. He asked for no quarter and he gave no quarter when the fight was on. He believed it was the duty of a liberal in American politics to carry the fight to the enemy, and he did it time and time again. And in a political fight BILL LANGER played for keeps, because he believed that the public stakes were high, and that he had the duty to be

willing always to sacrifice himself, if necessary, in support of the human welfare issue to which he could always be counted upon to be dedicated.

BILL LANGER, in other words, Mr. President, could dish it out as well as take it.

Party lines meant little to him. He believed in following where he thought the facts led, not where the politicians led. He was not one who ever worshiped at the altar of political regularity. He felt that when his party was wrong he should leave his party; and those of us who have served in the Senate for years with him, as I did for almost 16 years, always took an inner satisfaction from the great lesson he used to teach us time and time again as he sat in the second seat from the middle aisle. Sometimes, as one would walk over to him and chat with him and he would cast a vote against his party, he would turn to the majority leader and say, "Well, I had to cancel my friend's vote here, because I thought he was wrong."

He was a great battler, but a man with a keen sense of humor, a practical joker in the affairs of the Senate. I am sure my colleagues have enjoyed such an experience as I now relate, when I was involved a couple of years ago in a rather bitter controversy in the Senate on an issue which I thought was very close to the philosophy of BILL LANGER, calling for a defense of the economic weak against the encroachments of the economic strong.

BILL came over and sat in front of my desk as I delivered one of my not shorter speeches, but he sat through it. When I had finished, he got up and shook his head, and with a poker face he said, "I am sorry Wayne, but I will have to vote against you on this one." I said, "Have you lost your judgment? I made your speech for you." He went back to his seat, and very shortly the roll was called. When his name was called he voted in support of the position I had argued at some length, and as he voted he waved his hand. I went over to his desk and said, "What are you trying to do,

give me a hard time?" He said, "I am just having a little fun with you. You knew I could not leave you on that issue."

Mr. President, I think in the last session I received the most undeserved compliment I have ever received in my 16 years in the Senate, but flattering as it was, I think I cherish it more than any other. BILL LANGER and I found ourselves together on a great many issues, and in the closing days of the last session of Congress we found ourselves in opposition to the conference report on the labor bill. My colleagues will recall that BILL LANGER was not very strong physically in the closing days of the last session of Congress. I spoke for 4 hours and 35 minutes against that conference report. BILL LANGER sat every minute of it in the seat just in front of the desk from which I now speak. I was deeply moved by that act of courtesy, because most of the seats in the Senate were empty. I recall after the rollcall the two of us were called out to the pressroom just off the cloakroom of the Senate Chamber. As the press was taking pictures, BILL was asked the question, "Why did you vote with the Senator from Oregon?"

He then proceeded to pay me an undeserved, but I would be less than human if I did not say greatly cherished, compliment. He said to the press, "I was the only man who listened to the entire argument of the Senator from Oregon, and in my judgment one could not listen to it and disagree with it."

Mr. President, the friendship of BILL LANGER is one of the richest treasures I have ever accumulated in my life. In 1956, even though he was a Republican Senator, he endorsed me and supported my reelection to the Senate as a Democrat.

Mr. President, much has been said today, and I should like to associate myself with it, about the tenderness of this man—that great human quality of tenderness, the understanding of human frailty in others, which was one of the characteristics which made us love BILL LANGER, as the majority leader mentioned. He was a man with unlimited

courage, as has been pointed out, and one of the few politicians who never was afraid of the press. He would just as soon tangle with the press and take on the great powers of the press in America as he would tangle with any of the other reactionary barons in our American life.

I am sure many in the Senate will remember his good humor and the fun he had when some years ago he brought suit against an American newspaper and there was a settlement of the suit. He received a substantial check. He had the check in his possession, and he walked around on the floor of the Senate one day showing us the settlement he had made with a newspaper which had slandered him inexcusably and had carried on an unconscionable program of vilification against him.

Mr. President, I close by saying I think the highest compliment which can be paid to a human being when it can be said truthfully—and it can be said truthfully of BILL LANGER—is to say, "He was a good man."

BILL LANGER was a good man. America is richer because of his life, and because of this man's great dedication to the political tenet that it is the responsibility of an elected official of a free people in a parliamentary body in America to recognize always that the only wealth we have is human wealth, and that this Republic was designed to promote the general welfare of human beings.

Remarks by Senator Thurmond

Of South Carolina

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, shortly after coming to the U.S. Senate in January 1955 I had the pleasure of meeting and knowing the then distinguished senior Senator from North Dakota, Mr. LANGER. I always cherished his friendship. I felt the warmth and understanding within him, which is not characteristic of all men. He was a diligent Senator. He was industrious. He worked hard. He performed his duties in a manner which was admirable.

Frequently we were in disagreement on matters of philosophy and on questions before the Senate, but I always knew he was voting his convictions as he saw them. He was regular in attendance and for that he deserved to be highly commended. I think it is very important that a Senator not be running all over the country while the Senate is in session, but instead remain here to look after his duties.

He was a man of ability. He would not have remained in the Senate so long as he did if he had not been a man of great capacity, because he was a controversial figure. Any man who stands for anything is a controversial figure. He was a man of courage. He never ran out on an issue. He never refused to face a situation. Courage is one of the greatest qualities any man can possess.

He was a friend of the "underdog." We did not find Senator LANGER catering to "bigwigs," to big corporations, to big anything or anybody. He was a friend of the average man, of the ordinary man, of the common man, as he is frequently called. He was a rugged individualist. He stood for what he believed in and he believed in what he stood for.

I feel a personal loss in the death of my friend, the late distinguished Senator from North Dakota, Mr. LANGER.

Remarks by Senator Gore

Of Tennessee

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, one of the dedicated servants which this country has known passed away with the death of the late Senator LANGER. The public interest with him was always paramount. He was a man of deep devotion, of warm personality, of high idealism. He walked proudly among his colleagues and before his constituency. In the eyes of both he was an object of affection and honor.

Remarks by Senator Kuchel

Of California

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, these moments are set aside to salute and honor the memory of a great American and a great U.S. Senator, the late WILLIAM LANGER of North Dakota. A humble product of our country's common soil, he journeyed through a turbulent life meeting, fighting, and overwhelming in his political career opposition which again and again confronted him. He finally became the chief executive of his beloved State; then a Member of the Senate, and finally the senior Senator from his State. Throughout all his days he was sustained and strengthened by a dear wife who was the friend of our wives, and by lovely children, who comforted him in his remaining days after she had left him.

BILL LANGER was a progressive Republican. He traveled with those great men in my political party who wrote history in days gone by—Hiram Johnson, of California; Robert La Follette, of Wisconsin; William E. Borah, of Idaho; and George Norris, of Nebraska, men whose devotion to the public was never excelled and seldom equalled in this Chamber or elsewhere.

Among the bequests left to their beloved America by BILL LANGER and others whom I have mentioned, who were like him, was a torch of inspiration which always burns, and which beckons any of us to come near it and be invigorated and strengthened by the sort of devotion for which each of them was known.

I had the pleasure of knowing BILL LANGER as a friend. I knew of his courage, of his independence, and of his humor, which was referred to so graciously and movingly in the comments of the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. Morse], who now presides over the Senate.

I say to the members of the family of BILL LANGER who remain, "You may take great pride in what the late Senator LANGER did in American Government and in the government of his State. You may take great pride in the high esteem in which he was held in the hearts of those who served with him."

Remarks by Senator Aiken

Of Vermont

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, from the time he was Governor of North Dakota until he died, BILL LANGER was one of my closest, personal, and political friends.

My first acquaintance with him was in the middle thirties when, as Governor, he was fighting tooth and nail to keep the farmers of North Dakota from losing their lifetime savings in land and other assets.

Fortunately for these people of North Dakota, BILL LANGER was a fighter and he had sympathy for people.

He never lost these attributes. In the years during which he was Governor of North Dakota, he never hesitated to challenge the most powerful interests or combination of interests when the welfare of his people was threatened.

He brought those attributes with him to the Senate and the Senate was finer because of it.

At the very start, he had to fight to hold his seat in the Senate because powerful interests which he had opposed as Governor were determined to unseat him.

They failed to do this but not until they had put him through many harrowing weeks of uncertainty.

The only thing they ever proved about him was that he was a stanch friend of the people.

He would stand up alone against the crowd when his conscience told him to do it.

He was my senior in the Senate by 8 days and for 19 years we worked together.

Not only were BILL and I close friends during all these years, but I watched his family of four young girls grow up to womanhood.

There never was a more devoted family man than BILL LANGER.

He was fortunate in that his wife, Lydia, whom he lost last year was a most understanding and devoted partner.

This Senate will never have another Member quite like BILL LANGER—honest, courageous, colorful, human.

The vacancy he left cannot be completely filled because there are few, if any, people quite like him.

He is one of few men who have been privileged to see a living memorial erected to himself while he was still alive.

This memorial to which I refer was built in the election of 1958 when, as a candidate for reelection to the Senate and harassed by the last illness of his beloved wife so that he could not return to the State to campaign, he, nevertheless, in spite of vigorous opposition, carried every single county in the State of North Dakota, an honor which few men are privileged to receive.

He and Lydia Langer have still another living memorial in the form of four wonderful girls—attractive—smart—respected by everyone.

BILL and Lydia LANGER will never be forgotten. They have left behind them tender memories.

Remarks by Senator Bridges

Of New Hampshire

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I would like to add just a few words to the excellent tribute to the late Senator LANGER presented to the Senate by the now senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young].

As senior Senator on this side of the aisle, I knew BILL LANGER since he first came to this body in 1941. I learned to know him as a warmhearted friend.

I also learned to know him as a courageous legislator—a man who would stand up against any odds when he felt he was right.

I learned, too, that BILL LANGER was a doer—a man of seemingly tireless energy who applied himself to the task at hand without stint.

I learned that "Wild BILL" was a colorful personality—the kind of man who was often in the news.

I have heard it said by some that BILL LANGER was a lover of publicity for its own sake.

Knowing BILL LANGER well, I never believed this. He was colorful, all right, but there was no fakery about him. He did what he did because his sense of justice and his great energy compelled him to do so. That the voters of North Dakota liked what he did and loved him for his courage to stand alone, if need be, was a fortunate but incidental occurrence.

I have said many times, and I was glad to hear the senior Senator from North Dakota say today, that the most important characteristic a Senator or a Member of the House of Representatives should have is courage.

Public servants need intelligence. They need to be well informed. But above all else, they need to be courageous.

And, as my colleague from North Dakota [Mr. Young] has said, BILL LANGER had courage.

I congratulate my friend on his fine tribute to the late Senator LANGER.

The Senate lost one of its most colorful Members, one of its hardest working Members, and one of its most courageous Members, when BILL LANGER passed away.

Remarks by Senator Bible

Of Nevada

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, this great deliberative body lost one of its outstanding personalities in the passing of BILL LANGER. He was a maverick in the richest sense of the word, because he wore no man's brand.

Senator LANGER's colorful career of public service, which spanned half a century, always found him championing the rights of the underdog. His deep feeling for people was manifested in many ways. The plight of the American Indian, for example, was always a matter of concern to BILL LANGER, and he consistently fought for equal rights for America's first inhabitants.

A good fight was always relished by Senator LANGER, and history will record that he never backed away from one. At the same time, he was a man of great charm and understanding, loyal in his friendships, kind and considerate.

BILL LANGER left his mark on the American scene. He will be missed.

Remarks by Senator Javits

Of New York

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I, too, would like to join in the many memorials to our dear friend and departed colleague, Senator BILL LANGER.

In a way, he was an illustration of one of the finest qualities of Members of the U.S. Senate, because he demonstrated that the qualities which men respect here are sincerity, integrity, hard work, fine character, and a humorous quality, which really is the quality of humility, as our colleague from Oregon [Mr. Morse], who, is presiding, so tastefully and graciously explained.

In the Senate it is possible to disagree very often, as BILL LANGER did, and still to occupy a beloved place among one's colleagues because of his qualities as a man. He provided a remarkable demonstration.

Men of such experience as only we have, in very active lives, have almost literally seen and understood everything. So we see and understand a colleague who is a sort of free-wheeling nonconformist, in the rather interesting and colorful tradition of others from his area of the country, including Borah and other Senators who have been mentioned.

Yet he endeared himself to his colleagues. He was also, in an interesting sense, a stimulus to action. He made others consider very seriously whether they were right or wrong, because of the mettle by which he tested himself and what he presented in his own arguments.

All of us must go. The question is, What will we leave? This is the solace to our families and to our friends, and this is the very tiny additional drop in the mighty river of time.

BILL LANGER left a sweet, pure drop—a little aggravated at times, but useful and stirring. He established a dear relationship in the hearts of those who knew him and served with

him. He made a real contribution to the political activity of his time. I believe that this may be our common promise, which beams down kindly upon our families, who take great pride in the heritage which a man leaves behind for our Nation and for other Senators who come after him.

Remarks by Senator Talmadge

Of Georgia

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I desire to associate myself with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in the tributes they have paid to the life and character of our late friend and colleague, BILL LANGER.

BILL LANGER was always courteous and helpful to new Members of the Senate. My own relationship with him was particularly pleasant and I always shall treasure the memory of my association with him.

BILL LANGER was truly one of the most remarkable men in the political history of our country. His life was extremely colorful—almost as colorful as those of Andrew Jackson and Sam Houston.

If one might cite one outstanding characteristic of BILL LANGER, it would be courage. He had strong convictions and the courage to support them unflaggingly. In this day of conformity, it is both refreshing and unusual to find a man in political life who has the courage of his convictions.

Time and again I saw him vote contrary to the overwhelming majority of his party. On several occasions I saw him cast a lone dissenting vote in the Senate.

A man who has courage of that type is a man we all admire. I am sure his example in this regard will long be admired and, I hope, emulated.

Remarks by Senator Johnston

Of South Carolina

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, early after I had become a Senator from South Carolina, I was attracted to my late friend, the senior Senator from North Dakota, Hon. WILLIAM LANGER. He was known and loved by all of us as "BILL."

My friend preceded me to the Senate by 3 years. During most of our service in this body we held membership together on both the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. This dual service afforded me a better opportunity than the average Member in the Senate to reach judgments about the man, his ideals, his personal worth, and his service to his State and Nation.

BILL LANGER classified himself as a farmer and a lawyer. We know little of his accomplishments as a farmer, yet it is known that he worked on a farm as a hired hand at the early age of 15. He then showed marked ability as a leader for he was made a foreman of a large crew of farmworkers. He attended grade school, later graduating in 1906 from the law department of the University of North Dakota. In 1910 he graduated from Columbia University Law School in New York City. His fitness for and adaptability to the legal profession are attested by the fact that he passed the State bar examination when he was 18 years old but was only admitted to practice when be became 21.

Senator LANGER'S first official office was that of county attorney for Morton County, N. Dak.; from 1916 to 1920 he was the attorney general for the State; for 8 years he served as a member of the State parole board; for 8 years he was a member on the State board of equalization, and for 4 years he was president of the State board of health. The Senator was twice elected Governor of his State. Notwithstanding many

internal political differences within his party, he was elected to the U.S. Senate in November of 1940, and was successfully reelected in 1946, 1952, and 1958. These successive offices and repeated elections are evidence of the great esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens and the value they placed upon his ability and services to their county, State, and Nation. No finer tribute is needed than the confidence of those who knew him so well and loved him so much.

I loved the Senator, not only because of the friends he had made, but also because of the enemies he made. He was an independent soul—independent in mind, body, and action. He came from the common people. He was one of them. He never forsook them. He always had at heart the interest and welfare of the little man, of the unorganized man, and of the fellow who had no paid emissary to speak for him. No opportunity escaped BILL LANGER to speak out and vote for the welfare of those who he felt needed a voice in the Nation's councils.

He always placed the interests of the worker, the underdog, and the downtrodden uppermost in his official actions. His votes in the Senate Judiciary Committee were unfailingly on the side of legislation for the benefit of the ordinary man. As one of the senior members of the Senate Civil Service Committee, his votes on behalf of the ordinary Government clerk or worker were always prominent among his activities. Whether his actions might please his political superiors or be strictly in accordance with his party dictates was of little consequence to him if he felt those influences were detrimental to a better regard for, or the higher interests of, the unsung average man. He was truly a man of, and for the rights of, the people as a whole. He lived and died a friend of the poor man. Certainly, Walter Foss had such a man in mind when he wrote:

Let me live in my house by the side of the road
Where the race of men go by;
They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong,
Wise, foolish—so am I.

Then why should I sit in the scorner's seat,
Or hurl the cynic's ban?
Let me live in my house by the side of the road,
And be a friend of man.

Thus BILL LANGER lived. Thus he served. Thus he died. His like will be hard to find. His passing we mourn. His services to his fellow man will forever be a monument to his greatness, reflecting honor and credit on the people who gave him to the Nation.

I salute the people of North Dakota for having given us the fine association and comradeship of so noble character as our departed friend, WILLIAM LANGER.

Remarks by Senator Curtis

Of Nebraska

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, today we pay tribute to a man who served with us for 20 years. He was a dedicated Senator, a man devoted to the interests of North Dakota. In public life, the names Senator WILLIAM LANGER and North Dakota were synonymous. If the attribute of success in the Senate is keeping faith with one's constituency, Senator LANGER achieved his full measure of success.

Senator LANGER was a man of conviction. If his position on any matter before the Senate was unique, he never shied away from standing alone. We are edified by a long and luminous career of service which abated only when he departed this life.

To his lovely family, so endeared by him, and to his host of friends, I offer my sincere sympathy.

Remarks by Senator Humphrey

Of Minnesota

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the late Senator WILLIAM LANGER. BILL LANGER was a man of the people in the great tradition of the Middle West. He fought tenaciously for the rights of the farmer, the laborer; for increased pay for postal workers and servicemen. His compassion for the people made him a great champion of civil liberties and social security. He fought the good fight for the rights of the American people and, as stated by U.S. News & World Report, "He weathered every storm with gleeful ease and went looking for more squalls to ride out."

We all know how valiantly he carried on his senatorial duties although plagued with serious illnesses. And we all know his sorrow with the passing of his beloved and faithful wife, Lydia Cady Langer. Also, we all know how sorely he will be missed in this Chamber and on the national scene.

Although not a founder of the Nonpartisan League, BILL LANGER was the man who mustered the strength needed to make what was once a farmer's political action movement into a purposeful and powerful organization. This he did in the thirties when certainly the people of the Middle West, which was beset not only by the great depression but by drought and dust storms, needed a strong and forceful united front to bring much needed help into the area. He will always be remembered for his dedication and determined efforts in behalf of the league and its purposes.

But, above all else, BILL LANGER was my friend. His sense of humor, his love of people, his keen mind, and strong spirit are characteristics that endeared him to the people of North Dakota and his colleagues in the Senate. America is the

better because of BILL LANGER. Liberalism has lost a champion.

At Columbia University he was president of his class, valedictorian and voted the biggest politician, noisiest student, most popular man, and the one most likely to succeed. And succeed he did.

The memory of this grand man, this magnificent maverick will live with us for a long time. It was a privilege to have known BILL LANGER and to have had the honor to serve with him in the Senate.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

WEDNESDAY, *January 6, 1960.*

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 404).

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER, a Senator of the United States from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, as a further mark of respect for our deceased colleagues, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 7, 1960, at 12 o'clock noon.

A message from the Senate by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

SENATE RESOLUTION 203

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM LANGER, late a Senator from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, do adjourn.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

MONDAY, *February 8, 1960.*

A message from the Senate announced that the Senate had passed the following resolution:

SENATE RESOLUTION 268

Resolved, That the legislative business of the Senate be now suspended in order that memorial addresses may be delivered on the life, character, and public service of the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER, late a Senator from the State of North Dakota.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate, at the conclusion of its business today, do adjourn.

Remarks by Representative Short

Of North Dakota

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, during the congressional recess my State of North Dakota suffered a grievous blow. Our senior Senator and the dean of our North Dakota delegation, Senator WILLIAM LANGER, passed away at his home here in Washington, D.C. I believe it is fitting and proper that we here in the House pay tribute to him today.

Senator LANGER's passing was a loss to North Dakota and its people, but his death is also a loss to the Nation. Few people in history have seen fit to champion the cause of the underprivileged to a greater extent than our senior Senator. His tactics in accomplishing his end objective were sometimes rather spectacular and earned for him the name of "Wild Bill," but to his friends out West this was more of a tribute than a criticism.

BILL LANGER served as Governor of North Dakota in the drought and depression years of the thirties, and earned the lifelong gratitude of North Dakota farmers for some of his drastic actions in keeping farmers from becoming victims of bankruptcy.

My brief remarks today in no way do justice to the stature, the personality, and spectacular career of our Senator LANGER from North Dakota. Those who knew him well will understand what I mean.

Born a North Dakota farm boy, he was endowed with the mental capacity to graduate from Columbia Law School as valedictorian of his class, and voted by his class as their colleague most likely to succeed. His life's record of achievement confirmed the confidence expressed in him by his classmates.

While BILL LANGER's political life was stormy and feeling ran high at times in traditional North Dakota fashion, none

of this feeling ever extended to the members of his family. The Senator's wife and four daughters were held in the highest esteem by everyone. Mrs. Langer suffered for many years with cancer and passed away only a few short months before Senator LANGER'S death. I know that all of my colleagues join with my wife and me in extending to the Langer girls and their families our heartfelt sympathy in their loss.

An indication of the high regard in which the Senator was held by his home folks was demonstrated when hundreds of North Dakota citizens turned out in below-zero temperatures for his burial beside his wife in their family cemetery at Casselton, N. Dak., only a short distance from where the Senator was born.

Remarks by Representative Burdick

Of North Dakota

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation lost a distinguished Senator and North Dakota a great champion on November 8, 1959. On that day, the State's senior Senator, WILLIAM LANGER, died in his sleep at his home in Washington at the age of 72, ending a 45-year political career.

WILLIAM LANGER, who was born on a farm near Casselton, N. Dak., on September 30, 1886, served as State's attorney for Morton County between 1914 and 1916; as North Dakota attorney general between 1916 and 1920; and as Governor for two terms between 1932 and 1934 and 1936 and 1938. In 1940, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and for three terms thereafter.

In 1918, he married Miss Lydia Cady of New York, who stood by his side during his career. She died only 3 months before her husband.

WILLIAM LANGER's name virtually became synonymous with that of the Nonpartisan League, the reform movement known as the political prairie fire. In 1916, he was the league's first successful candidate for North Dakota attorney general.

BILL LANGER, as he was affectionately known by his constituents, had a deep compassion for the underdog. Consistently, throughout his long political career, he carried the standard of the poor and the oppressed against the rich and powerful, without regard to the consequences.

The small farmer, the workingman, the small businessman had no better friend.

With BILL LANGER in Washington, North Dakotans knew they had a friend at court, for he conscientiously considered the problems, no matter how trivial, of all his constituents—friends and foes.

For many, BILL LANGER's humanitarianism is best remembered in the troubled 1930's, when as Governor, he took bold action to relieve the terrible burden that depression and drought had brought to the people.

This vital, interesting personality will be sorely missed but dearly remembered by thousands of people.

Remarks by Representative Rooney

Of New York

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join my colleagues in the House in paying tribute to a good friend and highly capable legislator, Hon. WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, who died on last November 8.

I held Senator LANGER in high esteem and affection from the time I first came to the House of Representatives in the 78th Congress and admired him over the years for his consistent efforts on behalf of legislation beneficial to our postal employees and other Federal workers. As a member of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee he played a great part in improving the pay and working conditions of Federal employees. He was one of the principal supporters of legislation which established a new liberalized formula for computing retirement annuities.

Men like Senator LANGER are sadly missed and I shall always thtink of him with fond memories. He was a great and courageous American and I extend to his daughters my deepest sympathy.

Remarks by Representative O'Hara

Of Illinois

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sorrow that I learned of the passing of the late senior Senator from North Dakota, the Honorable WILLIAM LANGER. He was my close personal friend for many years. In courageous dedication to what he believed to be right, and in the championing of little people whom to defend was to invite the vengeful wrath of publicized respectability, he was matchless. I hope that the story of his life, with its lessons of devotion to duty regardless of the cost or consequence, and its inspiration to faith and courage in the doing of good deeds, will not be lost to succeeding generations. In the life and career of one of the most colorful statesmen in American history, and one of the giant champions of the oppressed in an era now closing, there is rich material for the biographer.

The Nation and all mankind is the loser with the close of an era when after every election the word came over the wires from North Dakota: "Again the people have rallied behind BILL LANGER and Usher Burdick."

To the family of this noble man and of his fine wife, his inspiration and coworker, and by whose side he now rests in a cemetery in North Dakota, goes my deep sympathy.

Remarks by Representative McCormack

Of Massachusetts

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in the recent death of our late colleague in the Congress, and a personal friend of mine whom I admired very much, Senator WILLIAM LANGER, we have lost not only a colorful political figure, but one who had a rare capacity for friendship, and above all, loyalty to the principles and policies that he believed in. I was proud to count BILL LANGER among my closest, personal friends. He was a legislator of stalwart independence of thought and action. His courage as a legislator was outstanding and well known to all. BILL LANGER was a formidable debater, a legislator and public official of consummate skill and one who served, with great devotion, his constituents and his friends.

Our late friend, BILL LANGER, enjoyed a good fight and he was loved and admired by countless thousands of persons, even by some who did not wholly agree with him because of the fact that he was a fighter. Typical of the way his constituents felt about him was the often quoted remark: "If a farmer complained he had no washer for his wringer, he could depend on his old friend BILL to get it for him." This determined his state of mind in helping others who came to him, particularly the sick, the unemployed, and the underprivileged. The above saying dramatizes a very real trait in BILL LANGER's character and this trait was naturally ingrained in him. The more one needed BILL LANGER's help, the surer such a person was that he would come to their aid with all the driving force and energy of his great heart and able brain. For BILL LANGER was not a fairweather friend. He was the kind of a friend who loved to find an opportunity to give aid when it was really needed.

It was just like him to stay with his late wife, Mrs. Lydia Langer, in her illness all through the bitterly contested cam-

paign of 1958. While he was up for reelection in a hard-fought campaign, he did not make a single campaign speech, staying at the bedside of his wife and stating, "I just won't leave Lydia." This is the kind of love and devotion between husband and wife that is an inspiration and example for all others to follow.

In the passing of BILL LANGER, one of the most courageous and distinguished political figures in the legislature of our Nation, has taken the journey into the Great Beyond. Those who knew BILL LANGER and the nobility of character that he possessed, will greatly miss him.

To his loved ones left behind, Mrs. McCormack and I extend our deep sympathy to them in the great loss and sorrow. I know that the outstanding life that their late father led, his great courage in the many years that he rendered public service, and his noble outlook of life, will always be a source of consolation to them.

Memorial Tributes
to
William Langer

Memorial Tributes

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed a powerful and thought-provoking sermon by the Most Reverend Leo F. Dworschak at the funeral of the late Senator LANGER.

SERMON AT THE FUNERAL OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM LANGER, ST. LEO'S CHURCH, CASSELTON, N. DAK., NOVEMBER 14, 1959, BY THE MOST REVEREND LEO F. DWORSCHAK, AUXILIARY BISHOP OF FARGO

Bereaved mourners and kind friends, in this solemn hour we have offered the holy sacrifice of the mass for a Christian soul. It is here that the democracy of the church is made manifest. She performs this same rite for all her children as they pass from time to eternity, from this world to the unending hereafter. For poor and rich alike, for the famous and the obscure, her prayer is the same, her essential offering is the same. For in death, which has been described as the great leveler, we are all one in our need.

We have offered the holy sacrifice for WILLIAM LANGER. Beyond that it actually is of little moment now to his soul that we should speak at any length in praise or blame of his character and his life's achievement. In the end death came to him quite suddenly. But it did not find him unprepared. After the passing of his beloved wife he seemed to have a premonition that his own step into eternity would also have to be made soon. He strengthened himself spiritually by receiving the sacraments of the church, and in correspondence with the pastor of this parish as recently as October 30 made it plain that the consolations of his religion gave him the strength to face the prospect of meeting his Creator soon without hesitation and without fear. Hence he now stands in no need of the praise of men. If he has gained for himself God's praise, he needs no other.

And yet, before the last blessing of the church is performed over his mortal remains, we will do well to pause a moment and dwell on just one thought suggested by his career. In my opinion, the most striking facet of his character as a public servant was his unshakable adherence to his convictions. There were times when he stood almost alone on an issue and no consideration of practical politics nor pressure from others could induce him to recede from the stand he had taken or to compromise what he considered just

and right. I did not always share his convictions; but he did have positive convictions and steadfastly refused to compromise them for reasons of political expediency or personal gain. In an age when expediency rather than principle is so often made the supreme law of statesmanship, business practice, and personal conduct, it is a refreshing experience to see an example of unshakable faithfulness to conviction and loyalty to the truth as he saw it.

We are reminded of the scene described in the 18th chapter of St. John's Gospel. Jesus stands before Pilate to be judged by him. The Roman governor seeks desperately to extricate himself from an awkward position by questioning the accused in an effort to wring from Him some admission that would justify either a sentence of death or an acquittal—anything to get off a bad spot.

The subject of kingship is mentioned, and Pilate eagerly follows it up with the question, "Then You are a King after all?" Jesus replies, "You are right. I am a King. For this purpose I was born, and for this purpose I came into the world—to give testimony to the truth. Only he who is open to the truth gives ear to my voice." With a sneer, Pilate says to Him, "What is truth?" and returns to the balcony to face the multitude.

There is an undertone of tragedy in Pilate's question. Here he was in the presence of Him who had said: "I am the way, the truth, and the life." (John 14: 6.) For a brief moment he had a brush with immortality. But he turned away; he was not open to the truth. He was not at fault for having asked the question. He was at fault because he refused to wait for an answer. In our generation a growing number of people go a step farther. They say there is no answer.

That viewpoint was spelled out quite clearly and concisely in June of 1951 by the late Chief Justice Vinson. "Nothing," he wrote, "is more certain in modern society than the principle that there are no absolutes, that a name, a phrase, a standard has meaning only when associated with the circumstances which gave birth to the nomenclature. To those who would paralyze our Government in the face of impending danger by encasing it in a semantic straitjacket we must reply that all concepts are relative."

These words were a part of the decision in which the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of 11 topflight Communists. If the principle enunciated by Mr. Vinson in those two sentences were universally adopted and carried to its logical conclusion by the people and the Government of the United States, it would, in my opinion, do more harm to this Nation than all the activities of all the Communists on either side of the iron curtain. Deny the possibility of absolute truth and absolute values and you destroy the basis, not only of our Government but of our very nature as free beings.

WILLIAM LANGER

Our Founding Fathers established this Nation upon the principle that certain absolute and self-evident truths are the foundation upon which our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness rests. If human language can have any meaning at all, the Declaration of Independence means just that. If there are no absolute truths or values, there can be no justice and we can have no inalienable rights. A nation is powerful and its citizens are truly free in the degree in which they possess and are loyal to the truth. That is what our Lord meant when He said: "If you make my teaching your rule of life, you are truly my disciples; then you will know the truth and the truth will make you free." (John 4: 31–32.)

Denial of the truth or the possibility of discovering it goes contrary to every instinct of our nature. In the last analysis truth is reality. It simply is fact. And facts are absolute. When a fine china teacup falls off the table and is shattered, that is a fact. You could conceivably mend it; but you could not change the fact that it had been broken. No process of reasoning or sophistry can change or nullify objective truth or fact. It makes no difference whether the truth pertains to the physical, intellectual, or spiritual realm. In every case truth is reality. Truth is divine because truth is the essence of God's nature.

There is something rigidly inflexible about truth. Let us say that a hostess sets the table for dinner. She arranges two places on each side. No matter how loudly she may protest that there are no absolutes, she will not be able to seat five guests so long as she has only two places on each side of the table. If she wants to seat the fifth guest she must bring up another chair. That is the force of logic and the tyranny of truth. It is basically as simple as that. Such an objective and immutable quality is found in every truth, be it scientific, ethical, or theological.

There are timid souls—and in this respect our generation is becoming more timid by the hour—there are timid souls who fear the truth precisely because objective truth is rigid, unchangeable, eternal. They fear that adherence to truth implies a degrading slavery or subjection which destroys our dignity as free, intelligent beings. To them subjection of any kind is an insult to our hope of being our own masters. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It is true, of course, that many men are slaves. Probably many more today than in ages past. Some are slaves because they are victims of brute force; but more are slaves because they are victims of their own cowardice or selfish desire for security. A slave in Aristotle's definition, is a man whose choices are made for him by others. He may even enjoy comfort and security beyond a free man's wildest dreams, like the slave of a wealthy merchant

in ancient Athens. But he is a slave nonetheless because his choices are forced upon him by a cruel master or by the tyranny of circumstances.

But there are forms of subjection which are not degrading, a subjection which is the fulfillment of our dignity as man. There is the subjection of a creature to his God, of citizen to valid authority in the state, of child to parent. Those are forms of subjection which nature itself demands in the hierarchy of values for the perfection of the human individual. The most perfect, the noblest of all human beings in the end will be he who was most completely subject to God, he whose life was most nearly in conformity with the divine will of the Creator.

In matters of truth, the mind which is more subject to reality is the more perfect mind, the more accurate interpreter of objective reality. Surely we are not degrading the dignity of the child when we teach him the inflexible logic of the multiplication tables. We are not degraded by the law of gravity, even though he suffers injury who tries to ignore it.

Neither do we do violence to the hopes and aspirations of a free man if we insist that he conduct himself according to the moral law implanted in him by the Creator. The laws of physics, of logic, of ethics—each is an element which the Creator used in weaving the fabric of what we call human dignity. The pattern of conduct proposed to man in the divine plan may be likened to a road map. When we are on a journey the map guides us to our destination. It does not shackle our freedom.

In one sense truth may be tyranny. It is eternal and immutable, and as such places some limits on our freedom of action. But these are rational limits which spring from our nature as intelligent beings. To defy those limits is to invite disaster. Dostoyevsky summed it up perfectly when he said: "To begin with, unlimited freedom is to end with unlimited despotism."

One of the most tragic episodes in the Korean war was the treasonable conduct of some of our men who had been taken captive by the Red army. These men were spoken of with derision by a large sector of the American people. But such condemnation was unfair to them. Their conduct was not so much a crime on their part as an indictment of the society which failed to impart to them an understanding of objective truth and laws of morality, and instill in them unshakable convictions regarding the foundations upon which our democratic society rests. If there is no such thing as objective truths. If there are no absolute moral values why should a man refuse to compromise the principles of justice and decency in face of death by torture or starvation. In such circumstances no man can remain strong without the support of firm convictions.

In fact, such support is necessary for every man whether soldier or statesman, politician or captain of industry, farmer or day laborer.

Hence if there is any thought that the life and career of WILLIAM LANGER would inspire in us, it is the importance of loyalty to our convictions. There may be other roads to wealth or fame or pleasure. There is no other road to happiness and freedom. With that thought we sum up our tribute to the memory of WILLIAM LANGER.

To you, members of his family and his official household, who know him best and therefore loved him best, we extend our sympathy in this hour of bitter pain. May yours be the comfort of all good Christians who trust in the everlasting mercy, and through your tears look meekly up to Christ, the God of all consolation.

WILLIAM LANGER will long be remembered by us, and never forgotten by Holy Mother Church. Until time shall be no more she will number him among those countless souls for whom she prays unceasingly: "Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them. May his soul and the souls of all the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace. Amen."

Mr. BRUNSDALE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed a eulogy of the departed Senator by the Honorable John E. Davis, Governor of the State of North Dakota.

EULOGY TO THE HONORABLE WILLIAM LANGER BY JOHN E. DAVIS, GOVERNOR OF NORTH DAKOTA, FEBRUARY 4, 1960

North Dakota and the entire Nation sustained a grievous loss in the death of Senator WILLIAM LANGER.

His presence in the Senate Chamber provided the people of our State and Nation for 18 years with a champion whose fundamental belief was that the basic purpose of government is to serve the people who created it.

As Senator he devoted much of his talent, energy and experience to putting that primary philosophy into practice.

Through those efforts to harness the machinery of government to the service of its people, he earned the unswerving devotion of his supporters. They expressed their agreement with that philosophy by time after time returning him to office in the face of critics who disagreed with Senator LANGER's concern for the individual.

The individual who needed his aid invariably found it quickly forthcoming, and to provide that service, Senator LANGER did not hesitate to use all of the facilities of his staff and position; and often that service was extended as graciously to his political opponents as to his followers.

At times his efforts to aid the individual were resented, and used as a basis of criticism. This load he cheerfully shouldered and never allowed it to deter him from his concern for the problems of one individual nor lessen his search for their solution. Seldom in our history has the Senate included a man equally devoted to the importance and dignity of the individual citizen.

Loyalty is the one word that describes not only Senator LANGER personally but his career in public office as well.

Senator LANGER was loyal to those he represented and equally so to those principles in which he believed, maintaining loyalty at times to positions which he defended almost alone against overwhelming opposition and public opinion.

Loyalty he gave, and in the giving he earned a loyalty which never faltered among his supporters throughout his lengthy career.

North Dakota endorsed BILL LANGER'S presence in the Senate for 18 years; its people will mourn his absence far longer.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, at this time I ask unanimous consent to have printed an editorial entitled "Farewell to Wild BILL," from the Omaha World Herald, dated November 10, 1959.

FAREWELL TO WILD BILL

Death has taken BILL LANGER from the U.S. Senate, which is something North Dakota voters probably would not have done if he had lived to be 100. As he proudly noted in the current Congressional Directory, he carried "every county in the State" in the 1958 primary "despite being repudiated by the Republican Convention and running as an independent Republican."

Fierce independence can be a virtue, but in Mr. LANGER'S case his contradictory voting record must have confused even his fondest admirers. His nickname of "Wild BILL" was no exaggeration. He was a Republican who usually voted against the Republicans but the thread of principle running through his decisions was discernible to few except Mr. LANGER himself.

Senator LANGER was colorful. The unlighted, cellophane-covered cigar he chewed on the Senate floor was pointed out to countless

gallery visitors. In debate he could be almost as cantankerous as that other Senate maverick, Wayne Morse, of Oregon.

Mr. LANGER was for North Dakota first, last, and always, which helps explain why he stayed in the Senate for almost 19 years. He several times made headlines with his complaint that North Dakota had never been represented in the Cabinet or on the U.S. Supreme Court and that it was the only State so doubly underprivileged.

His career in North Dakota was phenomenally hectic, even for a State that gets quite emotional about its politics. In 1934 he was removed as Governor by the State supreme court whereupon he issued his pronouncement, which he insisted be listed in Who's Who and the Congressional Directory, that he was "the only person ever to be arrested in an English-speaking country for filing an affidavit of prejudice against a judge."

Follower of Bob La Follette 40 years ago, "agrarian liberal," "last of the Populists" are some of the kinder things said about Senator WILLIAM LANGER. Unquestionably he will be missed.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial published in the Chattanooga Times, setting forth some facts about BILL LANGER, be printed.

LANGER OF NORTH DAKOTA

WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, a political nonconformist who rarely lost in a race or won on an issue, is dead at 73 after 19 years in the U.S. Senate. His place in history will be determined more by what he refused to do than by what he was able to get accomplished.

He thumbed his nose at the innately conservative Republican Party organization, ran without its support more often than not and got himself elected by recordbreaking majorities. He voted with the Democrats more frequently than with his own party, but consistently refused to change his formal affiliation or to follow the Democratic lead in foreign policy.

Senator LANGER was an uncompromising isolationist who voted against lend lease and extension of the draft law on the eve of World War II. Paradoxically, he was one of the earliest supporters of statehood for Alaska, and usually was to be found on the liberal side of domestic issues.

A brilliant student, he finished a law course and passed the State bar examination at 18, 3 years before he could practice and 4 years before he finally received a bachelor's degree.

His political career followed a familiar pattern—county attorney, State attorney general, and Governor of his State—but encom-

passed more than the usual number of rough-and-tumble conflicts. While Governor he was arrested and removed from office by the State supreme court on charges involving solicitation of campaign funds, but he fought his battle so skillfully that he was exonerated by the courts and reelected in the next balloting.

He was elected to the Senate in 1940, but that body refused to seat him for weeks while Members debated his fitness to serve, based upon his record in North Dakota.

His unpredictable orneriness won him the title "Wild BILL," but his warmth in the Senate's clublike atmosphere retained for him the friendship of most of his fellow Members.

From any angle, Senator LANGER was right many times and wrong many times, since his own convictions cut across the lines of conventional politics. His generally vehement protests against what he didn't like, as well as his usually overbearing support of what he did like, tended to make him a figure the Nation at large disliked to trust.

He was a colorful character, a hair shirt instead of a stuffed one, who will be long remembered.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, at a meeting of the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee held on January 11, 1960, it was unanimously agreed to draw up a resolution expressing the sorrow of each of the members at the passing of Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, who inaugurated the subcommittee and served as its first chairman. The resolution was to make note of Senator LANGER's monumental achievements in the Senate generally and in the subcommittee in particular.

I was directed, as chairman, to place the resolution in the permanent records of the subcommittee and in the Congressional Record.

I was also directed to send a copy of the resolution to each of Senator LANGER's four daughters: Mrs. Cornelia Noland, 3326 Quesada Street NW., Washington, D.C.; Mrs. J. Peter Schaeffer, 7 Hunter Lane, Rye, N.Y.; Mrs. D. King Irwin, Lees Hill Road, New Vernon, N.J.; and Mrs. Franklin Gokey, Box 1959, Fargo, N. Dak.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed.

WILLIAM LANGER

RESOLUTION

Whereas Senator WILLIAM LANGER had a long and distinguished record in the service of his country and its people, respectively, as attorney general and twice Governor of North Dakota and as U.S. Senator from that State since his election in 1940; and

Whereas Senator WILLIAM LANGER, as chairman of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee in 1953–54, inaugurated the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee and served as its first chairman; and

Whereas Senator WILLIAM LANGER'S record of achievement as chairman of said Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee was instrumental in fostering the subcommittee as one of the permanent subcommittees of the Senate Judiciary Committee; and

Whereas Senator WILLIAM LANGER has continued through the years since 1953 to participate actively in the investigations and hearings of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee and has brought great credit to the efforts and accomplishments of said subcommittee; and

Whereas Senator WILLIAM LANGER has long been recognized as a great champion of the small business people and the efforts of Congress to curb monopoly and monopolistic power and control over the destinies of man and business; and

Whereas Senator LANGER'S concern over the problems of the poor and the oppressed were reflected in all walks of life and his door was open to one and all who needed a sympathetic ear; and

Whereas the members of the subcommittee have for these many years relied on Senator WILLIAM LANGER'S great wisdom and enthusiasm in combating any spreading of monopoly in the United States of America; and

Whereas the members of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee were deeply grieved by the sudden passing of their beloved colleague and friend on November 8, 1959, while Congress was adjourned; and

Whereas the members of this subcommittee will miss Senator WILLIAM LANGER'S wise counsel and rare humor in hearings and meetings of the subcommittee: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Members of the U.S. Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on this the 11th day of January 1960, That they are deeply grieved by the sudden loss of their friend and colleague, Senator WILLIAM LANGER, of North Dakota, and that said loss will be genuinely felt for many years to come by those who knew, loved and worked with him and by the many people who profited by his dedication to our free enterprise system and the antitrust laws; and further

Resolved, That this resolution be signed by each subcommittee member and placed in the permanent records of the subcommittee and in the Congressional Record; and further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to his four daughters.

ESTES KEFAUVER,
U.S. Senator, Chairman.
THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr.,
U.S. Senator.
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
U.S. Senator.
JOHN A. CARROLL,
U.S. Senator.
PHILIP A. HART,
U.S. Senator.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN,
U.S. Senator.
ALEXANDER WILEY,
U.S. Senator.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed two articles in tribute to the late senior Senator from North Dakota. The first article is from the Rural Electric Minuteman for November 20, 1959, and is entitled "Epitaph for a Maverick." The second article is from the Postal Record, issued by the National Association of Letter Carriers for December 1959, and is entitled "BILL LANGER Is Gone."

[From the Rural Electric Minuteman, Nov. 20, 1959]

EPITAPH FOR A MAVERICK

The greatest maverick of them all died quietly in his sleep last week: BILL LANGER, 73, Republican, U.S. Senator from North Dakota.

They said he died of a heart attack, weakened by a 3-week siege of pneumonia. He also died with a broken heart, lonely and almost lost after the death in August of the gentle Miss Lydia—the lady who stood quietly beside him throughout his noisy and troubled political career.

BILL LANGER was never the same after that. He went through the motions, but the fire and brimstone were gone. The maverick did not come back to the herd, but his wanderings were quieter. It was strange. It was like the wind dying on the plains of the Dakotas.

No man ever had a more controversial political career. His 2 years as Governor of North Dakota were crammed with charges of

wrongdoing. Soon after taking office in 1932 he was faced with a lawsuit which charged him with conspiracy to force campaign contributions from Federal employees. The suit went on for years, and ended with an acquittal.

When he came to the Senate in 1940, he faced formal allegations designed to keep him from being seated on grounds of "moral turpitude." A Senate committee voted months later to oust him, but the full Senate decided it was a North Dakota political affair and kept him in his seat by a vote of 52 to 30.

He was always in political trouble of some kind, but trouble seemed to make him stronger. The people of his State elected him, in order, county attorney, attorney general, Governor (twice), and U.S. Senator (four times). The political battle cry of the Plains was, "They're after LANGER again."

He was perhaps the greatest champion of rural electrification in the Congress. His name was on almost every important piece of legislation the rural electric systems favored. He left a sick bed against his doctor's orders to vote for the Hells Canyon Dam; he used his own office staff to launch and carry out the early stages of the Dixon-Yates deal investigation; he introduced numerous bills to curb propaganda advertising by the power companies; he was an implacable foe of high interest rates and private financing for rural electric systems. The list goes on and on.

It was BILL LANGER who broke the bottlenecks and got rural electrification going in North Dakota. He pushed and prodded and needled until generating stations and Federal dams were built to bring down the prohibitive cost of wholesale power. At one stage LANGER persuaded REA Administrator Claude Wickard to send his applications and loans chief with him on a swing of meetings throughout the State. The Senator and Dick Dell, now NRECA's legislative director, held 23 public meetings. It was the beginning of a lasting friendship, but Dell shudders even today at the memory of the maverick in action.

The Senator's thoughts were always of his people, and this was the source of his strength. It was said of him:

"If a farmer complained he had no washer for his wringer, he could depend on his old friend BILL to get one for him."

Or to get him a powerline to run the washer.

[From the Postal Record, December 1959]

BILL LANGER IS GONE

(By Jerome J. Keating)

Thousands of letter carriers in every corner of the United States shed many a tear when the news was flashed that the Great Liberal Senator from the State of North Dakota had passed away

in his sleep on the morning of November 8. It was not unexpected. Senator WILLIAM LANGER had been in failing health for the past 2 years, and survived two severe pneumonia attacks that would have carried away a man of lesser courage. Nursed back to health by his loving wife, Lydia, to whom he was married for the better part of half a century, he lived to see her suffer and slowly die, a victim of cancer. The impact of her death on Senator LANGER was terrific, but buoyed up by the excitement of the last days of Congress he kept going until adjournment. Showing characteristic courage and love of the men who labor, he was one of the two Senators who voted against the restrictive labor law. With the adjournment of Congress the enormity of the loss he had suffered with the death of his wife struck him with full force and he started to fail. In the morning of November 8 the great heart of Senator WILLIAM LANGER ceased to beat, and the great champion of the little men was gone.

Perhaps too much addicted to cliches and shibboleths, newsmen were prone to characterize the Senator from North Dakota as "unpredictable" and "a maverick." Having followed his career intimately and closely since his early days in North Dakota, to me he was the most predictable man in the Congress. He was always with the underdog. Whether it was the struggling farmer, fighting debt, drought, or low farm prices; or the workingman looking for a little better break for his family; or the friendless foreigner facing deportation; or the Indian suffering from malnutrition on some bleak reservation; or the man discriminated against because of the pigmentation in his skin—all these and many more had a champion and friend who never faltered in Senator LANGER. His decisions were not based on the expediency or the danger that might be involved—his decisions sprung from a heart full of love. Was he a "maverick"? Certainly he was not one to follow "the bell cow." He did not bear a brand on his forehead, but he bore the brand of love, sympathy, and understanding in his heart.

He loved North Dakota. No Senator ever fought harder or more consistently for his State or the people in it. In his 19 years in the Capitol he never succumbed to "Potomac Fever." "He walked with kings, but never lost the common touch." He was as loyal to the common man and the State of North Dakota the day he died as he was the day he was elected State's attorney of Morton County.

Senator LANGER was loved and known by every letter carrier in America. He was personally known to thousands, he attended many national conventions, State conventions, and meetings of all sorts. He was in the middle of every fight for improvement of the lot of letter carriers that ever came up on the floor of the Senate. He fought the letter carrier fight in committees. He sponsored

hundreds of bills designed to make life just a little bit better for the people who work for the Government. Many of his bills are still before Senate committees. He is a cosponsor of the Johnston-Neuberger bill to provide health benefits for those on the annuity rolls.

Some years ago when the Senate Chamber was being redecorated and the Senate was holding its sessions in the Old Supreme Court Room, a bill was before the Senate providing a pay increase for Federal employees. Senator LANGER offered several amendments to provide a little more for the little fellows, they were voted down one by one; finally he moved that $100 be added to the increase for those in the first grade. The vote was called for; the Senator from North Dakota alone voted yea. He later remarked, "I thought I was licked again." The nay vote was called for—no one voted. The Senator's amendment passed—one to nothing.

When Public Law 204 was passed by the Senate on September 14, 1951, the bill up for consideration provided for a $400 increase effective the first of the month following the passage of the bill. Senator LANGER moved to make the amount $600, there were two "aye votes." He then moved to increase the amount to $500. This was voted down, but the Senator gained additional support on every vote. The resourceful Senator from North Dakota then moved that the bill be made effective on July 1, thereby providing an additional $100 for every postal worker in America. The amendment carried and Vice President Alben Barkley who was presiding rapidly rapped his gavel signaling success.

There are hundreds of other stories that we could relate where the Senator from North Dakota successfully championed the cause of the postal and government employees. His greatest triumph and the one in which he took the greatest pride was the Langer-Chavez-Stevenson bill passed in the 80th Congress when Senator LANGER was chairman of the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee. In technical parlance it is known as Public Law 426, but to me and to thousands of others it will always be the Langer-Chavez-Stevenson bill. This bill when first introduced did not stand a chance. We were told that the bill went too far—that it attempted to do too many things. The able Senator from North Dakota fought the good fight. Like every other bill that ever has been passed, it lost some of its provisions. The major provisions, however, became law. For the first time annuities were provided for widows and children; for the first time those on the retirement rolls received an increase in their annuities; the formula for computing annuities was changed completely, to the advantage of the employee. The new formula produced larger annuities. The Langer-Chavez-Stevenson retirement bill will for-

ever stand as a perpetual memorial to the courageous Senator from North Dakota.

In the Senator's office in the Senate Office Building there were four large portraits presented to the Senator by his loyal and able staff. The four men who looked down from the wall in front of the Senator's desk were four outstanding Americans: Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and George Norris. Senator LANGER had much in common with his four heroes. Ibsen once wrote, "The strongest man on earth is he who stands most alone."

These five men knew what it was to stand alone, they knew the loneliness, heartache, and desolate feeling that comes when one stands by himself. They also knew the feeling of strength that comes from absolute conviction based upon basic fundamental principles. Senator LANGER, like his four heroes, passionately believed in the fundamental rights of freedom found in the Constitution of the United States. The rights of individuals, the rights of every man to a fair trial, the dignity and power of the U.S. Congress and the dignity and freedom of human beings.

Senator LANGER was laid out in the Senate Chamber on November 10. As he lay in state his senatorial colleagues, friends, and people who had benefited from his many acts passed by the casket. The entire board of officers of the national association together with special committee members paid their respects to their great friend. The officers and delegates of the Government Employees Council, AFL–CIO, paid their respects to their champion. On November 12 the body of Senator LANGER lay in state at the North Dakota State Capitol in Bismarck and on Saturday, November 14, the North Dakota Senator was laid to rest in his hometown, Casselton. Casselton is a small city having a population of approximately 1,400 people, no city letter carriers. Yet it was from this town that the great champion of city letter carriers came. It was a bitterly cold day when Senator LANGER was brought home, the temperature ranged from a few degrees below to a few degrees above zero.

Casselton was a big town the day Senator LANGER was born, and it was a big town the day he was brought home. Governor Davis was there representing the State. Representing the Senate of the United States were Senators Morse, of Oregon; Kefauver, of Tennessee; Young, of North Dakota; Case, of South Dakota; Hruska, of Nebraska; Jackson, of Washington; and Humphrey, of Minnesota. From the House of Representatives Representatives Burdick and Short, of North Dakota, were present. The Church of St. Leo's was crowded to the doors, the overflow packed the basement where they listened to the services over a loud speaker. Among the hundreds that thronged to the church were many

farmers who remembered the bleak days in the thirties when the specter of foreclosure loomed over their farms. These men undoubtedly recalled that they were rescued from their despair when the courageous Governor LANGER of North Dakota stepped forward and issued the first moratorium on foreclosures. The State police and the militiamen were there in uniform to honor their friend.

Serving as an honorary guard to the man who has stood by them so often and so faithfully were 21 uniformed letter carriers. North Dakota is not a large State in population, there are less than 200 letter carriers in the entire State. The funeral was held in the morning when carriers were delivering the mail. I am certain that every letter carrier in North Dakota that could make it was present; there were 21 of them. The carriers in sparkling uniforms came from Fargo, Grand Forks, Valley City, Bismarck, Mandan, from Moorhead and Minneapolis, Minn.

At St. Leo's Catholic Church the Most Reverend Leo F. Dworschak, auxiliary bishop of Fargo, preached the sermon. Declared the bishop:

"In an age when expediency rather than principle is so often made a supreme law of statesmanship, business practice and personal conduct, it is indeed a refreshing experience to see an example of unshakable faithfulness to conviction, and loyalty to the truth as he saw it.

"If there is any thought that the life and career of WILLIAM LANGER would inspire in us, it is the importance of loyalty to his convictions."

After the solemn requiem high mass, the body of the distinguished Senator was borne along Langer Avenue, named after him when he was Governor, and Senator WILLIAM LANGER was laid to rest beside his beloved Lydia, who had preceded him in death by 3 months.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed a statement by Paul A. Strachan, president of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, Institute for Human Engineering, paying tribute to the late Senator WILLIAM LANGER.

STATEMENT OF PAUL A. STRACHAN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, INSTITUTE FOR HUMAN ENGINEERING

The Nation has lost a great statesman in the death of Senator BILL LANGER, whom I have known since the day he came to the Senate.

He was honest and forthright in his convictions, and spent his mature life fighting for the underdog.

In death, he belongs in the great pantheon of liberals—La Follette, Norris, of his own party, and Barkley, Wagner, and Neely, of the Democratic Party.

I mourn his passing.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the matter which I include in these remarks constitutes not only a eulogy and a biography, but a piece of American history. WILLIAM LANGER, Usher L. Burdick, William Lemke, Lynn J. Frazier, and A. C. Townley were actors on the North Dakota political stage during a very colorful period and their influence was felt far beyond the borders of North Dakota. All of these men have now departed this earthly existence except my father, Usher L. Burdick, who is remembered by my colleagues as an able and effective legislator with a warm and infectious sense of humor.

Senator LANGER and my father followed the same liberal course, and both found themselves voting more often with the Democrats than with the Republicans. I know of no one more qualified than Usher L. Burdick to recount the events of the period and to portray the life of "BILL" LANGER.

Upon my graduation from law school in 1932, I became associated with Senator LANGER through the Nonpartisan League, and this association continued for almost a quarter of a century. During that time we shared the same political platform many times and spent many hours together traveling the roads of North Dakota. From my personal association with "BILL" LANGER and from my participation in the Nonpartisan League I, too, recall many of the events recounted by my father, and I share his same regard for the late Senator. I am, therefore, happy to include the following comments of my father, Usher L. Burdick, entitled "BILL LANGER—As I Knew Him."

WILLIAM LANGER

Bill Langer—As I Knew Him

(By Usher L. Burdick)

William Langer was born in Everest Township, N. Dak., September 30, 1886, the son of Frank J. and Mary Langer. He received his high school education at Casselton and his university course at Columbia University in New York. He graduated from Columbia as valedictorian in 1910, and immediately started his professional career as a lawyer at Mandan, Morton County, N. Dak.

On his way home from Columbia, he stopped to visit William Lemke of Fargo who was at that time looking after the interests of himself and associates in a ranching venture in Mexico. Several friends of William Lemke's had organized a large cattle ranch in Mexico and it was here that Langer came to visit Lemke. The proposition looked good to Langer and, through the arguments put up by Lemke, Langer invested in capital stock of this land company. Here was the beginning of a feud between the two that lasted until death.

It is not generally known why Langer and Lemke were such uncompromising enemies but, since they have both now crossed the Great Divide, and because both were my close friends always and under all circumstances, I presume it will not be out of place to relate the story.

A few days after Langer had invested in this ranch, he rode around the domain examining the cattle herd of some 800 head and the clearing of brush on the lands they intended for an orchard. He learned that the revolution then going on in Mexico was headed directly for this ranch and, knowing that Lemke was in good standing with the Mexican Government, Langer had visions that they would be taken prisoner and their property confiscated. He notified Lemke of his discovery and pleaded with him to accompany him back to the United States instantly. Mrs. Lemke was at the ranch at that time, and Langer concluded that all three would be saved if they got out of there at once and before the revolutionary forces arrived.

Lemke didn't propose to abdicate so suddenly, and remarked to Langer, "I will stop all the bullets that come this way." Langer had put all of his cash into stock and had no funds with which to finance himself back to the United States. Lemke handed back to Langer $1,000 of his money, and Langer lost no time in starting out. He started walking toward the border, but about the time he was completely tired out, two Mexicans in an open Ford car, who had deserted the revolution, caught up with him. Langer asked them to let him ride with them, which they consented to, and the three drove on. The facts were that these two men in the Ford

were fleeing themselves, but LANGER was not informed of this or where they were headed, nor did he care as long as they were going in the direction of the United States.

The Mexican Government forces soon caught up with this Ford car and all three were captured and securely lodged in jail at the nearest town. A court-martial convened immediately and all three were condemned to be shot the next morning at sunrise. LANGER bewailed his fate and always thought that if Lemke had immediately started out with him at the time LANGER first notified him, all would have escaped.

Before concluding what happened to LANGER, we will see how Lemke and his wife were progressing. The revolutionary forces struck the ranch just as LANGER had predicted. The house was shot up, but Lemke and his wife defended it with all the means they had. The cattle and all personal property were confiscated. Finally the attack on the house ceased and the forces moved on. Lemke and his wife made their way back to the border without mishap.

We left LANGER in jail and about to be executed. LANGER got in touch with Washington and, after two or three postponements of the execution were obtained, LANGER was freed but his two companions were shot. The U.S. Government obtained LANGER'S free and unmolested passage to the border.

As time went on, LANGER claimed his near execution was due to Lemke's long delay in getting away from the Revolution, and Lemke claimed LANGER had deserted him and his wife in their perilous situation. Nothing I could do, and I was friendly to both men, could patch up this deep-seated feud. This was the beginning of their life's resentment, and all through their political careers this ill feeling persisted. Both were loyal public servants with great ability. Not only that, but they had the same philosophy of bending their efforts to help the underdog. Both LANGER and Lemke went ahead in their careers, both becoming outstanding public servants, both having the confidence of the people, and both were unbeatable in elections.

LANGER had a hectic career from the very beginning. His first office was that of State's attorney of Morton County, where he determined to clean out the bootleggers and booze vendors. This was something new for the once Wild West. In his successful campaign against the liquor elements, he built up a mass of friends and some enemies, but the people generally applauded an honest crime prosecutor.

His next office was that of Attorney General, being elected by the Nonpartisan League faction of the Republican Party. While acting in this capacity, he discovered that some of the leaders of the Nonpartisan League were carrying on illegal practices in bank-

ing and other financial deals. LANGER stuck to his guns to enforce the law. He broke with the A. C. Townley control of the league and became a candidate for Governor on the ticket opposing the Townley supporters. He lost the election but the campaign he made convinced the people that he was right.

There was no job too big for LANGER. He started right in to reorganize the old Nonpartisan League, became a candidate for Governor and was elected. The opposition was so wrought up over his election that they started in on a desperate program of propaganda against him. Before his term ended, the Supreme Court of North Dakota rendered a decision that ousted him from office. The Federal Government arrested him for interfering with the WPA program, charging that he had caused to be solicited from workers on WPA for contributions to support the Nonpartisan League newspaper, which LANGER had established. Through the unjust conduct of the trial by the judge, who was LANGER'S enemy, LANGER was found guilty by the jury, and the judge sentenced him to Federal prison.

Having now brought about the verdict of guilty, the supreme court in a court action decided that under the State constitution and laws the Governor was ineligible to hold the office. The legal phrase pertaining to the Governor recites that upon conviction of a crime the occupant becomes ineligible. The supreme court was confused, for there is never a conviction until the defendant has had his final day in court. LANGER had appealed his Federal case at the time he was removed from office and actually he had never been found guilty since his appeal was pending. He won his case in the U.S. Circuit Court and was, therefore, never found guilty. But the supreme court had put him out of office. LANGER, therefore, became the Nonpartisan League candidate for Governor and was elected again with a "hoop."

His next try was for the U.S. Senate. Here it might be well to say that LANGER didn't want the nomination; he insisted that I be nominated. The convention thought otherwise and LANGER became the candidate and was elected. In the meantime he had been arrested for various crimes, but that didn't stick. So when he presented himself for a seat in the Senate, his enemies were right on hand to oppose his seating, although all legal charges against LANGER had been aired but the people overwhelmingly had elected him Senator, having before them all the charges and complaints offered by the opposition. LANGER was seated and became a Member of the U.S. Senate; his next election was much easier and he went back to the Senate for a second time.

In the meantime, the Nonpartisan League faction of the Republican Party, and the ROC faction (leader of the opposition to the

league), decided to join forces. But no sooner had this marriage taken place when the convention endorsing candidates decided to turn on LANGER and defeat him. It refused to nominate him. This fired up the old league members again and they discovered that their marriage with the ROC was not what it was thought to be.

LANGER, therefore, entered his name on the Republican primary ballot, and carried every county of the 53 counties in North Dakota. No one before had ever won such a victory. This was his last political victory, however. His charming wife died in August 1959 and, while LANGER could respond from political reverses, he could not respond from the death of his wife, and before the year closed, he joined her in death.

His record still lives, and in it the people can find that in him they had an able Senator, a loyal friend of the poor, and one who stood up to be counted in the Senate, although he might be the only one to stand. He probably will never be replaced in the hearts of the people, but they will do their best to send someone to the U.S. Senate who does not forget the record of their beloved Senator LANGER.

LANGER was a prodigious worker. No request from people back home, whether they were Nonpartisan League or not, was ignored by LANGER. He attended to more details than any man I ever knew. He rushed to the side of people in trouble, and these people would stand up and fight anyone who made disparaging remarks about him. I drove with him one time, and we were 100 miles from our scheduled destination. It was dark, as we had just left a meeting. All at once LANGER remembered that some rancher living down in the Badlands had wanted to see him, so we drove 80 miles out of our way to see this man. LANGER had done a favor for this man, and he merely wanted to thank LANGER. While this man was a stanch Republican, he jumped the traces and fought for LANGER. Thousands had been helped by LANGER, and those he helped paid him back with their support, no matter what party or faction they were affiliated with.

LANGER was arrested or sued, he said, 32 times, and won every case. He took great delight in putting away his enemies, but after the complaint had been settled, LANGER made no reprisals. He always said to me, "I don't blame this man for bringing this suit or signing that complaint; somebody is behind it, and this man is being used."

As the years rolled on, LANGER became politically stronger. His last election to the U.S. Senate wasn't an election; it was a complete rout. His death was a stunning blow to the thousands in North Dakota, and the principles for which he fought will live on even

with generations not yet born. He once said, "Burdick, those prosecutions and unfounded charges I can take in stride, but when at school the students say, there is LANGER'S daughter, he has been sentenced, that is hard to take."

Mrs. Langer was a delightful woman and a real fighter, being a descendant of the patriots of '76. She stood like the Rock of Gibraltar in all these trying experiences. Their daughters, too, were fighters and held their chins up in adversity. They can be proud of their parents, who were united in marriage, in life, and now in death.

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